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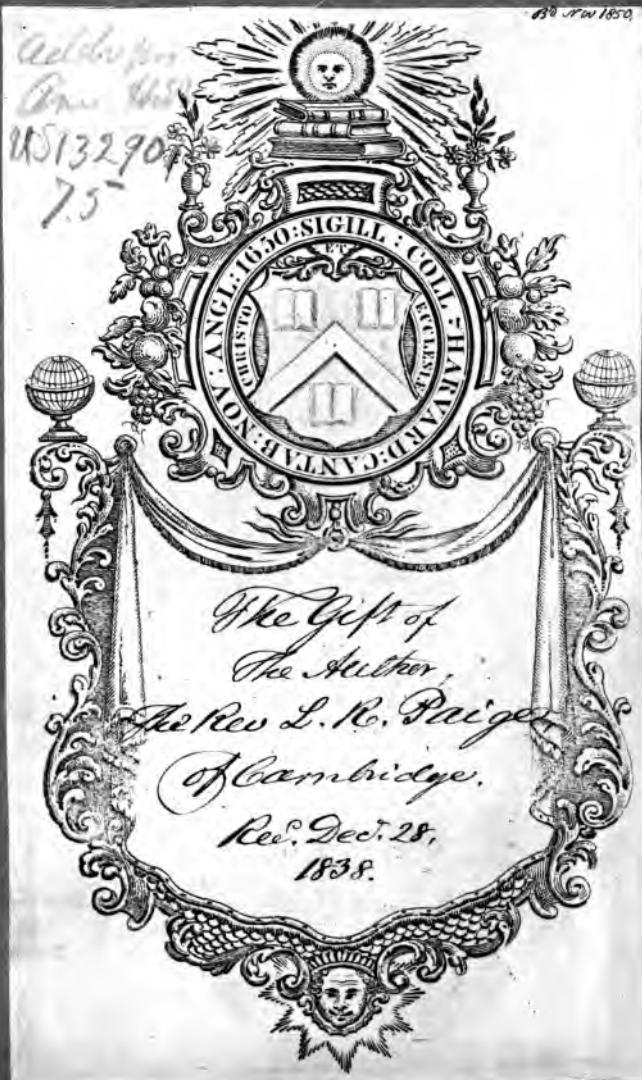
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HARVARD COLLEGE



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Oct. 28. 1838.
AN

A D D R E S S

AT THE

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

IN

HARDWICK, MASS.

NOVEMBER 15, 1838.

BY LUCIUS R. PAIGE,

PASTOR OF THE FIRST UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY IN CAMBRIDGE.

C A M B R I D G E :

METCALF, TORRY, AND BALLOU.

1838.

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P R E F A C E .

THIS Address was prepared under many disadvantages, and may seem unworthy of publication; yet I do not feel at liberty to refuse a compliance with the request of my fellow citizens, at whose desire it was written, and whose patience was so laudably manifested during its delivery. It has no literary pretensions, except as a statement of facts; in this point, I have used the utmost caution to secure correctness; and I think no essential error will be detected. The materials have been gathered from various sources. My acknowledgments are particularly due to John P. Bigelow, Esq., Secretary of State, and the gentlemen connected with his office,— to Doct. Joseph Stone, Town Clerk of Hardwick,— and to the several Clergymen of that town,— for access to documents under their charge, and facilities in pursuing my investigations.

Hardwick is situated on the western border of Worcester County, midway between New Hampshire and Connecticut, and seventy miles from Boston. It contains about 20,000 acres of land, which is well described by Whitney, in these words:— “The face of the town is rather rough, hilly, and uneven; although there are no very great and remarkable hills. The soil is, in general, deep, loamy, and very fertile. The lands produce all kinds of grain in sufficient plenty for the inhabitants; but they are best adapted to grass and pasturage. Here vast quantities of butter and cheese are made, and most excellent beef fattened for the market. All kinds of fruit trees flourish here.” — *Hist. Worcester County*, p. 175.

The population has been nearly stationary,— large numbers emigrating annually. The following table exhibits the number of inhabitants at seven different periods.

1764	1010	1820	1836
1791	1725	1830	1885
1800	1727	1837	1818
1810	1657*		

There are in the town a sufficient number of grist-mills, saw-

* In 1801, a portion of the town was taken off at the incorporation of Dana.

mills, and shops of various mechanics, to supply the wants of the inhabitants. From the "Statistical Tables" published by order of the General Court, for the year ending April 1, 1837, I extract the following additional particulars, respecting this town.

"Boots manufactured, 5000 pairs; shoes, 5000 pairs; value of boots and shoes, \$14,500; males employed, 20; females, 8.

"Tanneries, 2; hides tanned, 1500; value of leather tanned and curried, \$5250; hands employed, 6; capital invested, \$4500.

"Paper Mills, 2; stock manufactured, 55 tons; value of paper, \$5600; males employed, 6; females, 2; capital invested, \$3000.

"Manufactory of Chairs and Cabinet Ware, 1; value of chairs and cabinet ware, \$1000; hands employed, 2.

"Plough Manufactory, 1; ploughs manufactured, 150; value of same, \$900; employing one person.

"Straw Bonnets manufactured, 300; value of same, \$500.

"Palm-leaf Hats manufactured, 75,000; value of same \$15,500."

As these facts in regard to the size, situation, description, inhabitants, and productions of the town, have no special connexion with its history, I assign them a place in the preface. In the Appendix, other facts are inserted, which perhaps may be interesting to the inhabitants of the town.

A D D R E S S.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—

YOUR Committee of Arrangements have requested me to address you on this very interesting occasion. I know not how I can more acceptably, or with more propriety, perform that service, than by presenting a brief historical sketch of the Town of Hardwick. To such a sketch,—imperfect indeed, yet the best which I could prepare in the brief time allowed,—permit me most respectfully to ask your attention.

In one respect, this was a frontier town when it was settled by the English. A line of towns, extending across the Province, had been established on Connecticut River; but with this exception, the whole country on this side of Hudson River was then a wilderness; and on a direct line to Quebec or to Montreal, there was not a single English settlement. Yet the power of the Indians had been previously crushed to such an extent, that the inhabitants of this Township were never molested by them.*

Indeed, I am not aware that even before the settlement of this town, more than one battle was fought between the English and the Indians, on any spot afterwards embraced within its territory. On the 2d of August, 1675, Captain Edward Hutchinson, of Boston, Captain Thomas Wheeler, of Concord, about twenty armed horsemen, and several of the principal citizens of Brookfield, were attacked and defeated by a party of Indians, at a place called Meminimisset, and described as being eight or ten

* For a single exception, see Appendix, under the name of Eleazer Warner.

miles northwest from Brookfield. The party, when attacked, were attempting to pass between a hill on the east side, and a swamp on the west, so that they could only ride in single file. For reasons* which I have not now time to mention, I am satisfied that the place thus described is less than a mile south of the present residence of Colonel Stephen Fay, in New Braintree; and this place, you are aware, has been within the territorial limits of Hardwick.

In this battle, eight men were killed, including three inhabitants of Brookfield. Others were mortally wounded. Among them was Captain Hutchinson, who died at Marlborough on the nineteenth day of the same month, and was there buried. He was son of the famous Ann Hutchinson, and ancestor of Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Captain Wheeler also was wounded, but rescued from death by the heroic exertions of his son Thomas, who himself was very severely wounded. The father thus relates the matter: — “He endeavored to rescue me, showing himself therein a loving and dutiful son, he adventuring himself into great peril of his life to help me in that distress; there being many of the enemies about me, my son set me on his own horse, and so escaped a while on foot himself, until he caught an horse whose rider was slain, on which he mounted, and so, through God’s great mercy, we both escaped.”†

The English, who survived the conflict, fled to Brookfield. The Indians pursued, invested the town, and in a few days destroyed every building in it, except the fortified house. The settlement was entirely broken up, and the town was abandoned for several years. Although this battle was not attended by the loss of many lives, yet as it led to results so important in the history of our early settlements, I have thought it pardonable to notice the fact that it occurred on a spot, once a part of our territory.

This township was purchased of the Indian proprietors, more than one hundred and fifty years ago. By a deed, dated December 27, 1686, “John Magus, Lawrence

* Some authorities are quoted in Appendix, A.
† N. H. Hist. Coll. ii. 9.

Nassowanno, attorneys to Anogomok, Sachem of the tract of land called Wombemesisecook, James and Simon, sons and heirs of Black James, Sachem of the Nipmug country, for divers good causes and considerations,—especially for and in consideration of the sum of twenty pounds current money of New England," conveyed to "Joshua Lamb, Nathaniel Paige, Andrew Gardner, Benjamin Gamblin, Benjamin Tucker, John Curtis, Richard Draper, and Samuel Ruggles, of Roxbury (Mass.), a certain tract or parcel of land, containing by estimation, twelve miles long, north and south, and eight miles wide, east and west, situate, lying, and being near Quabaug, commonly known by the name of Wombemesisecook" *

The bounds of this tract of land are vague and indefinite, like those in Indian deeds generally, of like ancient date. They are expressed thus:—"Bounded southerly upon the land that Joseph Dudley, Esq. lately purchased of the Indians, easterly the southermost corner upon a pond called Sasagookapaug, and so by a brook which runneth into said pond, and so up northerly unto a place called Ueques, and so still northerly until it meets with a River called Nenameseck, and westerly by the river until it comes against Quabaug bounds, and joins unto their bounds, or however otherwise butted and bounded," &c.†

It would be difficult, if not impossible, at the present day, to trace these lines, except the single one formed by Ware River, then called Nenameseck. It is evident, however, from the Proprietors' Records, that they claimed from Rutland (now Barre), on the north, to the Chickapee River on the south; embracing besides Hardwick, almost the whole town of Ware, the northeasterly corner of Palmer, and so much of Warren as lies north of the Chickapee River.

The original proprietors seem not to have made this purchase with an expectation of immediate profit. There is no evidence that they made any effort to settle this Township (or Leicester,‡ which they purchased about

* Variously written, Wombisiscook; Wambemesiscock; Wombemiscunk.

† The Deed is inserted in the Appendix, B.

‡ It appears by an instrument dated February 28, 1718, recorded in the Middlesex Registry of Deeds, B. xvii. p. 27, that the original purchasers of

the same period), for many years. Indeed, the larger part of them were dead, before either of these places was settled. The earliest document known to exist (except the Deed) concerning the settlement of this town, is the appointment of an agent, who was empowered to employ a surveyor, "to view, and consider, and mark out the said lands, as butted and bounded in said Deed, to take an account of the waste land, ponds, as well as other land therein fit for settlement." It bears date, February 20, 1726-7,* and has the following signatures: — Joshua Lamb, for himself; Nathaniel Paige and Christopher Paige, as heirs to Nathaniel Paige; Samuel Green and Edward Sumner, as assigns to Andrew Gardner's heirs; Caleb Seaver, one of the heirs of Benjamin Gamblin; Benjamin Tucker and Samuel Davis, as heirs to Benjamin Tucker; Benjamin Smith, on behalf of John Curtis's heirs; Richard Draper, for himself; and Joseph Ruggles, for the heirs of Samuel Ruggles." Only two of the original proprietors were then living, — Lamb and Draper.

An effort was made the same year to obtain from the General Court a grant or confirmation of this territory. Colonel Joshua Lamb, Deacon Richard Draper, and Captain Samuel Green, were appointed (May 30, 1727) a committee to present a petition. The House of Representatives granted them "the contents of six miles square; — provided the Petitioners make no further claim to the land within mentioned."† This was but little more than a third part of the original purchase.

Leicester were Joshua Lamb, Samuel Ruggles, Benjamin Gamblin, Benjamin Tucker, Jonathan Curtis, Ralph Bradhurst, Richard Draper, Andrew Gardner, and Nathaniel Paige. Before the township was settled, they admitted so many associates as to make "twenty full and equal shares and proprietors."

* For many years before the "New Style" was established by law, in 1752, some commenced the year on the first of January, and others on the twenty-fifth of March. To prevent confusion and uncertainty, it was the usual custom to make double dates between these two days. Thus in the text, the date answers to February 20, 1726, according to the old style of reckoning, — commencing the year March 25th; and to February 20, 1727, according to the present or new style of reckoning, — commencing the year January 1st. In the remainder of this sketch, I shall omit the double dates, conforming them to the present method of dating. It must not be forgotten, however, that in all dates, previous to 1752, eleven days must be added, in order that they may correspond with present dates; for example, from February, 20, 1726-7 to March 3, 1839, is 112 years.

† General Court Records.

And even this the Council were unwilling to grant, and non-concurred with the House.

Previously to this time, several persons had commenced a settlement here.* And the petition for a grant was partly at least designed by the proprietors to protect themselves against such encroachments. They sent also an agent "to warn them off from making any further improvement," but empowered him to "agree with those persons that have made a pitch upon said land for the present year, as he and they shall agree, as our tenants."

At a meeting, July 25, 1728, the proprietors took further measures to secure their property. They asserted their "honest and just title and right to the said land," appointed Joseph Ruggles to be their Clerk, and "Captain Samuel Green, Mr. Nathaniel Paige, and the Rev. Mr. Timothy Ruggles," a committee to survey six miles square within their claim, to make a plan of it, and put it on record. They were also empowered to agree with the inhabitants respecting their improvements, and "to make an allotment of forty or fifty lots, one for a minister, one for the ministry, and one for a school; and the others to be disposed of as the proprietors shall hereafter order and agree."

Between this date, and June 15, 1732, (a period of almost four years,) the Proprietors' Records are lost. But from the Records of the General Court, it appears that another petition was presented by a Committee of the Proprietors, September 24, 1729, which was rejected. In November of the same year, other persons † attempted to obtain possession of the land embraced in the Deed, or a part of it. The proprietors remonstrated, and were successful.

The next petition was presented June 15, 1731, and rejected the next day. The succeeding day (June 17th) another petition was presented for "eight miles square," only two thirds of the purchase. But even this scanty justice was denied the proprietors; for their petition was rejected, December 31, 1731. The next day, (January 1,

* It is not certain whether these encroachments were made within the present limits of Hardwick, or on other territory embraced in the original Deed. There are some reasons for believing that the disputed territory was below Hardwick, perhaps in Ware, or possibly as far south as Palmer.

† See Appendix, C.

1732,) a petition was presented for "six miles square," the court having manifested such a resolute intention to grant no more. This passed both Houses, but the Governor refused his signature. It was renewed June 15, 1732, and at length was fully granted on the usual conditions, namely, that the proprietors should "within the space of five years settle and have on the spot sixty families, the settlers to be none but such as are natives of New England; each settler to build a good and convenient dwelling-house, of one story high, eighteen feet square, at the least, and clear and bring to four acres fit for improvement, and three acres more well stocked with English grass; and also lay out three shares throughout the town, each share to be one sixty-third part of the said tract, one share for the first settled minister, one for the ministry, and the other for the school; and also build a convenient meeting-house, and settle a learned and orthodox minister, within the term aforesaid."*

Having, after such tedious delays, and at such a sacrifice of nearly two thirds of their purchase, obtained a grant, the proprietors held a meeting December 27, 1732, at which time they admitted four associates, namely, Joseph Haskell, Ebenezer Pierpont, Samuel Willis, Esq., and Colonel William Dudley, each for one share. The number of shares, now twelve, was never afterwards increased. At this time, all the original proprietors were dead, and the heirs of each one owned a single share.

At an adjourned meeting, (February 21, 1733) the proprietors voted to divide their land into lots, reserving three mill-seats for their own benefit. These were subsequently granted to individuals, on condition that they should erect good mills, keep them in repair twenty years, and grind for the inhabitants for the usual toll.†

* From this time the township took the name of Lambstown, by which it was known until its incorporation.

† A grist-mill was erected about 1735, owned by Mr. John Wells, and stood on the Great Meadow Brook, near the spot where the paper mill now stands. Another was soon afterwards erected on the same brook, near the present residence of Mr. Orin Trow, and was owned by Mr. Joseph Ruggles. Probably about the same time another was erected on Moose Brook, where the "Old Furnace" afterwards stood. The Great Meadow Brook was for many years a division of the town into two sections for certain purposes. One Constable was elected on each side of this brook, and in warrants for town meetings, each was required to notify the inhabitants in his section, that is, on his side of the brook.

They also voted "that ten acres of land be reserved near the centre of said tract, to set a Meeting-house on, and for a burial-place,* and a training-field." Another vote was passed, authorizing each proprietor to propose five settlers for admission, to make up the number [sixty] required in the grant. The price fixed on each settler's lot was five pounds to be paid when the lot was drawn, "towards defraying the charges of surveying, &c., and the further sum of ten pounds each, for the building a Meeting-house, and settling a Minister, within the space of three years after his being admitted." The lots were partly drawn, June 12, 1733.

The territory originally granted was altogether on the westerly side of Ware River. But in answer to a petition presented June 15, 1733, the General Court granted another tract, on the opposite side of the River, bounded south by Brookfield, and northeasterly by Braintree-six-thousand-acres, so called. I know not precisely how far eastwardly this grant extended. There was one range of lots, however, east of the present residence of Mr. Perez Cobb. It remained under the jurisdiction of Hardwick until 1751, when it was united with the six thousand acres, and a part of Brookfield, at the incorporation of New Braintree.

At a proprietors' meeting October, 30, 1733, provision was made for building "a good Cart Bridge over Ware River,—against the highway lately laid out towards Brookfield." This was near the same spot where the present Bridge stands, east of the "old furnace;"† and was in the immediate vicinity of the principal settlement in the town. A large portion of the lots first laid out were near the River; and when the additional grant was obtained, it was immediately laid out. These intervalle lands possessed peculiar attractions, and were eagerly

* The ancient burial place on the east side of the Common, is the same which was laid out in consequence of this vote, or rather, a portion of the same. It was the only place of burial near the centre of the town until 1815, when another was purchased about a quarter of a mile north of the Meeting-house; in which are many handsome monuments.

† There have been two furnaces in Hardwick. The one was erected about 1760, on Moose Brook, near the River. The other was erected about twenty-five years ago, on the River, not far from a hundred rods above the mouth of Great Meadow Brook. Both have been discontinued and destroyed. Yet the villages near which they stood, are still denominated the "Old Furnace" and "New Furnace."

sought by those who were commencing the work of improvement. And it is by no means surprising that such should have been the fact. For although the more elevated lands may now be equal, or even superior in value, it must not be forgotten that all was then an uncultivated waste ; and each settler was obliged to subdue seven acres of land, besides building a house, in three years, on penalty of forfeiting his lot.

The first definite provision, of which I find any trace, for the support of public worship, was made at a proprietors' meeting, December 27, 1733, precisely one year after the first legal arrangement for commencing a settlement. Thus anxious were they to secure the benefits of public worship. It was voted "that the proprietors pay the sum of forty eight pounds, which is to be raised equally out of each whole share, to help pay a minister for preaching the Gospel amongst the inhabitants there, for one year after the second day of May next. Also voted that the settlers, both resident and non-resident, pay fifteen shillings each, as their equal part and proportion of a further encouragement for a minister to preach the Gospel for said year ; and that Mr. Timothy Ruggles be desired to procure some suitable person to serve them for the same." Similar votes passed for several succeeding years. The proceedings had, in conformity with these votes, I shall have occasion to notice further, in another place.

For several years, the settlement of this town progressed slowly. Some of the individuals, who drew lots as settlers, failed to make the required improvements, and the lots were forfeited, and assigned to others. Five lots were thus declared forfeit at a single meeting of the proprietors, July 21, 1736. And when we consider the character of the more elevated lands, it need not surprise us, that some of the settlers had not perseverance enough to accomplish the work they had commenced, but abandoned their possessions in despair. It has been a frequent and a true observation, that the hilly lands in Hardwick are very excellent, when subdued ; but that it exhausts at least one life to subdue them. You, who have come into possession of well cultivated farms of this character, can scarcely realize the amount of labor which has been expended to bring them into their present condition.

But it was labor well bestowed, and you are now reaping the rich fruits of it.

Notwithstanding all discouragements, the settlement was effected before the expiration of the time prescribed in the Grant. A petition was presented to the General Court, November 29, 1736, by "Benjamin Smith and sundry other inhabitants of lands lately granted to Joshua Lamb Esq. and others, at a place called Lambstown, setting forth that they have fulfilled the conditions of a settlement, being arrived to the number of sixty inhabitants,* and performed what was enjoined on them as to subduing and improving the lands, and have called and settled a minister, praying that they may be incorporated into a township, for the reasons mentioned." This petition was granted so far as to authorize the inhabitants to elect town officers, to hold office until March 25, 1738, and to "agree upon methods for the support of the ministry, and defraying other charges." "Mr. Benjamin Smith, one of the petitioners," was directed to notify the inhabitants to meet for this purpose. Accordingly a meeting was held, February 9, 1737, which may be regarded as the first town meeting. At this date the Town Records commence. I shall quote the proceedings of this meeting entire; as it gives us definite information, to a certain extent, who were then inhabitants. Voted,

"1. That Mr. Benjamin Smith be the Moderator of said meeting.

2. That said meeting be adjourned to the house of Nathan Carpenter, on said day.

3. That Samuel Robinson be Town Clerk.

* If this mean sixty families, — the number required in the grant, — the greater part must have become inhabitants during this year. Deacon Joseph Allen moved into the town in the early part of the year; and he says there were but twenty-three families in the place.

"In thirty six I came into
This then a wilderness:
Great hardships we did undergo,
Our wants did daily press.

"The families were twenty three,
That then did here belong:
They all did hardships bear with me,
But now are dead and gone."

Last Advice and Farewell of Deacon Joseph Allen to the Church and Congregation of Hardswick. Printed at Brookfield, 1795. pp. 51. 8vo.

4. That Benjamin Smith, Joseph Allen, Samuel Robinson, Stephen Griffeth, and Benjamin Ruggles be Selectmen.
5. That John Wells be Town Treasurer.
6. That William Maccoye, Benjamin Ruggles, and Experience Johnson be chosen Assessors.
7. That George Abbot and Ichabod Stratton be Constables.
8. That all the remaining town officers be chosen by holding up of hands.
9. That Thomas Perry and Benjamin Andrews be tiding men.
10. That Josiah Barret and James Aikens be surveyors of highways.
11. That Dudley Jordan and John Hunt be fence-viewers.
12. That Phineas Powers and Samuel Church be hog-reaves.
13. That this meeting be adjourned to the 23d of this instant February, at the Meeting-house, at ten of the clock on said day."

Such are the proceedings of the first town meeting. All other business was postponed until the adjournment. At that time, it was voted, "that every settler shall pay for seven acres of improvable land, for every settler's lot." It will be remembered that every settler was bound, by the terms of the grant, to subdue and improve this quantity of land within a limited time. And this vote seems designed to provide that, if any had hitherto neglected to perform their duty, others should not suffer by their neglect. The former vote of the proprietors was founded on the same principle, requiring each settler, "resident or non-resident," to pay fifteen shillings for the support of public worship. Personal property was not then taxed here, nor, I believe, for several years afterwards. All settlers were considered to have a common interest in the township, and all were required to share equally in the public burdens.

Until this time, public worship had been supported by the joint contribution of proprietors and settlers; to wit, £48 by the proprietors, and 15s. each, by the settlers, amounting in all to £93, supposing the number of settlers to be sixty. But after town privileges (to a certain

extent) were granted to the inhabitants, the proprietors seem to have made no further appropriation. The burden was heavy upon the inhabitants, and they petitioned the General Court for liberty to tax all the land in the township, whether improved or not, and whether owned by resident or by non-resident proprietors. Such a procedure was not unusual, at that day. Frequent petitions of the same character were granted by the Legislature. In regard to this town, the intervention of legislative aid was the more necessary from the fact, that of the twelve shares of the "proprietorship," as it was termed, less than one whole share was held by the inhabitants. Unless I greatly mistake, Deacon Christopher Paige, and Mr. Benjamin Smith, were the only proprietors who became settlers; and of these, Deacon Paige owned no more than half a share, and Mr. Smith, one ninth part of a share. Moreover, I am not certain that more than one of the non-resident proprietors had sons residing here, at that period. Rev. Timothy Ruggles, of Rochester, Massachusetts, had sons and nephews in town. But though by inheritance, grant, and purchase, he had acquired possession of much land, he had only one vote in proprietors' meetings; and even in this he was subject to be overruled by the numerous joint heirs of his father's estate. Hence it may be concluded, that the inhabitants had not much personal influence over the proprietors, and an appeal to the General Court became the more necessary. Accordingly, the town voted, June 30, 1737, "that Mr. Christopher Paige be the man to go to the General Court, to get the town incorporated, or the land taxed."

It does not distinctly appear whether the petition for liberty to tax the land was granted or not. But it is certain that the proprietors procured a delay of incorporation for one year beyond the period which seems at first to have been contemplated.* The inhabitants became impatient; and at two meetings, October 19, and November 2, 1738, resolved on another effort for incorporation, and liberty to tax the lands of all proprietors. Their agent, Mr. Christopher Paige, presented their petition, December 8, 1738. A committee of the proprietors remonstrated. But on the 15th day of the same month, the petition was

* General Court Records, December, 1737.

granted; a tax of three half pence per acre on all the land in the township was authorized to be assessed annually for three years, to be applied "one half thereof to the Reverend Minister there for his better encouragement and more comfortable support, the residue for building and finishing a handsome Meeting-house, for the better accommodating the inhabitants in attending the public worship of God;" and the agent was empowered to bring in a bill for the incorporation of the township. This Bill* having passed both Houses, received the Governor's approval, and became a Law, January 10, 1739.†

I have thus traced, as accurately as I could, the events connected with the purchase, settlement, and incorporation of this town. I have entered into more minute details on this part of my subject than I otherwise should, because I supposed these events were less generally known by my fellow citizens, than those of more recent date; and because many of the materials, from which I have compiled this sketch, thus far, being in a perishing condition, I thought it advisable to use them pretty thoroughly, before they shall disappear entirely.

In pursuing the history up to this point, I have omitted some events, which deserve notice. Some of the more important, I shall now mention.

It will be recollectcd that in December, 1733, the proprietors made provision for the support of a minister, in this place, and desired Rev. Timothy Ruggles to procure one. Accordingly Rev. Ephraim Keith was employed for one year, commencing May 2, 1734. He was a native of Bridgewater, and graduated at Harvard University in 1729. I suppose him to have been a grandson of Rev. James Keith, the first minister in that town. Concerning his success, I have no knowledge. As the Church was not organized until more than a year after his departure,

* See Appendix, D.

† At this time the township received the name of Hardwicke, and it was thus written for many years. The final letter has since been omitted, and in conformity to the almost universal custom, I have written Hardwick, in this sketch. Hardwicke, however, is undoubtedly the original name. This name was probably given in compliment to Lord Hardwicke, an English nobleman. But if the whole vocabulary had been searched for the purpose, it would have been difficult to find a name more accurately descriptive of the character of this township; for it imports a place favorable for husbandry and the raising of cattle. See Rees's Encyclopedia.

no record probably exists in respect to his labors in Lambstown, except what is contained on the Proprietors' Records. I find no evidence that Mr. Keith remained here after the expiration of his first engagement. Nor do I know that any other preacher was employed, during the subsequent year. But about the first of July, 1736, Rev. David White commenced his labors here. He was born in * * * * Con. in 1710, graduated at Yale College 1730, ordained November 17, 1736, and remained Pastor of the Church until he deceased, January 6, 1784.* On the day of his ordination, a Church was organized, consisting of twelve members, all males. Twenty-seven were added in the space of one year. The following is an extract from the Church Records. "November 17, 1736. A church was gathered and embodied in Lambstown, and the members publicly invited and chose Mr. David White to be their Pastor. Accordingly the same day Mr. David White was ordained Pastor of the Church of Christ in Lambstown, by prayer and laying on the hands of the Presbytery. The names of the men that solemnly entered into a Church state in Lambstown, that before were members of other Churches:— Christopher Paige, George Abbot, Thomas Perry, Joseph Allen, John Wells, John Kidder, Richard Church. The names of the men that entered into a Church in Lambstown, which before were not members of other Churches, but were then received into the Church:— Eleazer Warner, Nathan Carpenter, Experience Johnson, Samuel Robinson, Samuel Gillet." On the third day of the next month, "Mr. Christopher Paige and Mr. Joseph Allen were chosen to the office of Deacons, by a majority of the votes of the Church."

Whether it were the usual custom, at that period, to exclude females from participating in the organization of a Church, or not, it is certain that several females were here, when this was organized, who did not become members until two or three months afterwards, although they were then members of other Churches, in good standing.

Mr. White's salary was small, never amounting to two hundred dollars per annum, equal perhaps, on an average,

* During his ministry, he baptized 1275 persons, married 316 couples, and received into the full communion of the Church 411, besides 77 who took the "half-way Covenant," by which means they attained the privilege of having baptism administered to their children.

to four hundred dollars now. Yet on this sum, together with presents, and the fruits of his own industry, he managed to support his family, and to give both his sons a public education. His talents were respectable, but by no means splendid. His success in giving satisfaction to his people, through a long ministry of nearly half a century, depended not so much on the energy of his mind, as on the meekness, simplicity, and purity of his heart. He lived in a troublesome period, both political and ecclesiastical. Near the close of his life the Revolution occurred; and he shared the trials and distresses of his people. But he lived to witness the conclusion of hostilities, and the Independence of his Country. At a much earlier period, the elements of the ecclesiastical world were violently agitated. About the year 1740, a "new light," as it was called, was discovered. Parties were formed in various Churches, who bitterly contended with each other, freely bandying the epithets of fanaticism, on the one hand, and formality, or legal righteousness, on the other. Some Churches were rent asunder. And this Church did not entirely escape the ravages of the storm which swept through the land. A portion of its members withdrew, and were styled "New Lights," or more generally "Separates." They erected a meeting-house, and established a regular meeting.* Mr. White and his Church manifested much forbearance, laboring with their dissatisfied, separating brethren, but never using the rod of excommunication. The effect of such measures was favorable. The separate party, as such, dwindled and became extinct; some of its members removed from the town, and others were reconciled to the Church; their meeting-house was demolished, and Mr. White had the happiness to behold again a state of harmony and peace in his parish. Thus, though he encountered storms during the journey of life, the evening of his days was calm and serene, and his sun went down in a clear sky. His wife, (who was a niece of Thomas Wells, Esq., of Deerfield,) had closed her pilgrimage about six months previously.†

* Their preacher's name was Roberts. But of his history I am entirely ignorant, except that he labored in Hardwick occasionally for several years. The Deacons of this Church were Samuel Robinson and James Fay. Deacon Robinson had previously holden the same office in Mr. White's Church, and had been dismissed on his own request. Further notice of him and of Deacon Fay may be found in the Appendix.

† Mrs. White was left an orphan at a very early age, in Pennsylvania.

Mr. White had four children, three of whom survived him: — Thomas Wells, born 1739, graduated at Harvard University 1759, and removed to Vermont about 1784; — Sarah, born 1741, married Rev. Lemuel Hedge of Warwick, 1761, and had four sons, one of whom is Levi Hedge, LL. D., of Cambridge; — Susanna, born 1743, married Mr. Jonathan Danforth 1770, and died November 14, 1779, leaving one son, Samuel, who removed to Vermont, and two or three other children who died in early life; — John, born 1745, graduated at Harvard University 1765, removed to Worcester, where he spent the remainder of his life. I believe not a single descendant of Mr. White now resides in Hardwick.

In what year the first meeting-house in this town was erected, I have not been able to ascertain. But the inhabitants assembled in it, for their first town meeting, February 9, 1737. It was probably neither very large, nor very elegant. The bills allowed, for materials and labor, amounted to less than fifty pounds. Indeed, it was not entirely shingled,* until after the inhabitants had determined, the next year, to build a new meeting-house. It was afterwards sold at auction for sixteen pounds, old tenor, to James Robinson. It stood on the Common, about midway between the two present meeting-houses.

The erection of the next meeting-house was a subject of much contention. In January, 1738, the town voted to build a new meeting-house, "fifty four feet long, and forty feet wide, and twenty two feet between joints, and set two feet from the ground;" also voted, "that the new Meeting-house be set on Gamblin's lot, on the east side of the Great Meadow brook."† This location of the house

Her education was among Quakers, whose principles she adopted, and retained for several years. She had an uncle, Thomas Wells, Esq., of Deerfield, and she resolved to visit him. She came to Boston by water, and fortunately found her uncle there. He carried her to Deerfield, and thenceforth, until her marriage, she remained a member of his family. She manifested her gratitude, for his many kindnesses by giving his name to her first-born son. The uniform testimony of those who enjoyed her acquaintance, is, that she was one of the excellent of the earth, remarkable as well for her intelligence, as for her virtuous and Christian deportment.

* The town voted, August 8, 1738, to "finish shingling the old Meeting-house, and finish the seats, and make forms as shall be needed, and build the Minister's Pew."

† This lot, about one mile southeasterly from the meeting-house, was, for many years, the residence of the late Timothy Paige, Esq., and is now owned by Mr. Joel S. Marsh. Being on the brow of a hill, and commanding an

was followed by a protracted struggle between the east and west sections of the town. The proprietors, who appear as yet to have contributed nothing towards the building of any meeting-house in the town, voted, September 7, 1738, that they were "willing that a new Meeting-house be built, provided it be set on the spot of land already agreed upon by the proprietors and settlers." They also appropriated three hundred pounds towards defraying the expense; being one half the amount of the ten pounds each, which the settlers had agreed to pay for building a house and supporting a minister. As the Proprietors' Records from the next meeting until 1743, are lost, it is not known what further part, if any, they took in this contention.

The great objection to placing the meeting-house on "Gamblin's lot," was, that it subjected the inhabitants of the west part of the town to so much additional travel. Apparently with a design to obviate this objection, a project was started to dismember the town, and cut off this portion altogether. The town voted, June 1739, that they were "willing and ready to set off the west part of the town, beginning at Rutland corner, (now the west corner of Barre,) and so to run a straight line to Muddy Brook, where the road runs over said Brook to go to Quoben,* and then to run by said Brook to the south line of the town, and said land to be laid to Quoben." By consulting the map of the town, you will perceive that the portion thus willingly voted off, is more than a third part of the territory now embraced in the whole town. There were some, even in that day, who had more regard for the accomplishment of some favorite object, than for the preservation of union. But several influential individuals entered their protest† against this measure. The next year, these proceedings were reversed, and the town voted, July 29, 1740, to "set the Meeting-house on the ten acres, on which the old Meeting-house stands;" also voted, "that whereas this Town have stated a place to set the new Meeting-house on, which will accommodate

extensive prospect in every direction, it was a more eligible site for a meeting-house than that which was finally selected, on every account, except that it was not so near the centre of the township.

* Now Greenwich.

† "Detest" is the word used on the town Records, which, I doubt not, expresses the precise state of feeling which existed.

that part of the town next to Quoben, as well as other parts of the town, that the vote that was passed in this town the last year, whereby they signified that they were ready and willing to have a part of this town set off to Quoben, be void and of none effect." But even this did not entirely end the difficulty. At a subsequent meeting in the same year, the town elected a Committee residing in other towns, to determine where the meeting-house should stand, — their determination to be final; and also appointed Mr. Eleazer Warner, from the east section of the town, and Mr. John Wells from the west, to represent their several interests to the Committee. The house was raised during the summer of 1741, and placed within ten feet of the old one, on the present Common. The final location of the house was unsatisfactory to the inhabitants on the east side of Ware River; and they soon renewed the efforts, which they had previously made, for a separation from Hardwick, and a union with Braintree six thousand acres, and which proved successful about ten years afterwards.* The meeting-house, however, was finished, in process of time, and stood until the present house was erected; after which it was sold and removed.

The first notice of a school, which I have found, is in 1744; when the town voted "to get a School-master for the town, to begin in the first of September, and to continue eight months, and to remove four times." In the same year, the town was divided into five school districts. Three years afterwards, (1747) the town voted ten shillings to Mr. Eleazer Warner, "for preventing the town from being presented for want of a school." But a school had been kept in town before this time; and it was probably by proving this fact, that Mr. Warner was successful. William Thomas taught the school, between 1744 and 1746, so long, that he received seventy-two pounds, eighteen shillings, for his services. Thomas Ruggles also was employed, at least eight and a half weeks, before October 1747; he was again employed in 1748. Some of the other masters, named on the town Records, are, Humphrey Peirce in 1749 and 1750; Dea. Joseph Allen, Dea.

* Half a century later, to wit, in 1801, the town was again dismembered, and the northwest portion shorn off, at the incorporation of Dana. Meantime several hundred acres on its western border had been claimed by Greenwich, which claim was finally established and allowed.

John Cooper, Dea. John Freeman, Dea. John Bradish, Joseph Safford, Stephen Fay, Doct. Joel Carpenter, Stephen Fisk, Lemuel Hedge, and Thomas Wells White, between 1750 and 1760; Jona Fay, John White, and Ebenezer Washburn, between 1760 and 1773.* It is doubtful whether school-houses were generally erected in town before 1790; in which year the town voted "to raise five hundred pounds for the purpose of building school-houses." Five years previously, (1785) the town had voted "to have the grammar school kept in four parts of the town,—an equal proportion in each part, viz. at Edward Ruggles's, Col. Timothy Paige's, David Allen's, and John Paige's,† on condition of their finding a suitable room and fire-wood for said school, free of cost to the town."

The schools in this town have for many years been generously supported. From 1798 to 1823, (twenty five years,) the sum of five hundred dollars was raised annually; for six years afterwards, five hundred and eighty dollars; then six hundred dollars; and at present, the sum raised is one thousand dollars, besides one hundred and thirty seven dollars, voluntarily contributed for the same purpose. This amount is expended in the eleven districts, into which the town is divided. A high-school has been supported for several years, under the charge of Rev. John Goldsbury. A large proportion of the scholars in that school belong to this town, and the expenses attending it are defrayed by individuals.

I am not aware that any event occurred in this town, of much interest, from the period of its incorporation until nearly twenty years afterwards, except those already mentioned. A minister had been settled, a new meeting-house erected, after a long contention, and schools established. The inhabitants, during the time not thus occupied, seem to have been busily and quietly engaged in cultivating their lands, taking no very active part in the political

* Thomas Ruggles was son of Rev. Timothy Ruggles; afterwards studied medicine, and located himself at Rochester, his native town. Of Humphrey Peirce and Stephen Fisk I have obtained no information. Lemuel Hedge is the same whom I have already named as a minister in Warwick. All the others were inhabitants of Hardwick.

† The places here indicated are now occupied by Mr. Anson Ruggles, Mr. Augustus Warner, Captain Moses Allen, and the Widow of Captain Benjamin Paige.

movements of the day, nor even electing a Representative to the General Court.

Some few votes, however, in regard to their municipal affairs, may be mentioned, as throwing some light upon their condition.

At a meeting, April 23, 1739, the town voted, "that droves of cattle shall not be brought into town under the penalty of ten shillings per head, for the man to pay, that taketh them in, or yardeth them, or salteth them, or is in any wise instrumental in such affair." A similar vote was passed the next year, increasing the penalty to fifteen shillings, and excepting from its operation "milch cows, and working oxen." They did not proceed quite so far, in the abatement of this nuisance, as the inhabitants of Leicester, under similar circumstances. Mr. Washburn, in his history of that town, says they not only imposed a fine of ten shillings per head, for all cattle so taken in to be pastured upon the common lands, but voted that "all rams running at large should be *free plunder*, and any one who should take such might have them for his own."*

The prudent habits of our ancestors may be discovered from some of their early votes. Mr. White, their minister, being a feeble man, and frequently unable to supply the Pulpit, the town had occasion to hire assistance for him. A case of this kind occurred in 1741, when the town instructed Mr. George Abbot "to go to Mr. Frink, and see if he can hire him for a reasonable price, and if not, to hire another, the best he can and cheapest." Again, in May 1746, the town authorized their Treasurer to expend ten pounds, "to employ a Deputy to use his best influence to prevent a Province Tax from coming this year: provided he find a man that will effect the matter, or have nothing for his trouble."

In May 1744, the town voted "to build a horse bridge over the River near Cannon's." This was Cornelius Cannon, who lived on the spot now occupied by Mr. Rufus Sargeant, in New Braintree. There was formerly a road from this place to the present residence of Mr. Read S. Ruggles. The bridge mentioned in this vote was the second erected over Ware River. That which is near the "new furnace" was not built (at first) until more than twenty

* Worcester Magazine, ii. 99.

years afterwards. Muddy Brook was crossed at different "wading places," described in the ancient location of highways. Great Meadow Brook was crossed also at a wading place near the former residence of Mr. Jonathan Danforth, until two years after this period, when an arrangement was made with Mr. Joseph Ruggles to build a "Cart-way" across the Brook, one half the present width of the bridge. The miserable condition of the roads at that period was graphically described by Gen. Ruggles, in a petition he presented to the General Court in 1754, for an abatement of the fine which had been imposed on the town for not sending a Representative. Among other things, he said, the inhabitants "must be at the expense of some thousands of pounds upon their roads, before they will be brought to be as good as most of the roads in the Province are by nature."* At the time when this statement was made, and for some years afterwards, not a chaise, or pleasure carriage of any description whatever, was owned in the town.

In February 1747, compensation was allowed to officers for "warning out" an individual from "being an inhabitant." This course was afterwards pursued in regard to other individuals, and was, at that time, the legal method of avoiding the expense of maintaining paupers. When individuals entered the town, who were suspected as likely soon to become chargeable, they were warned out, and sometimes carried out, by officers. Yet notwithstanding all these precautions, it was found necessary to make provision for a pauper, who had previously been an inhabitant. The first record on the subject is dated March 7, 1748. At that time, the town was called upon to decide, whether they would "raise money to maintain Hannah Maccoye, sent to this town for that intent." She was found to be an inhabitant, and was supported accordingly until 1765. The next pauper named on the Records (except a few children who received some temporary assistance) is widow Zeruiah Pratt, who, together with her daughter Temperance, became chargeable in 1763. The mother remained a pauper more than twenty years, and the daughter about fifty years. Meantime the number increased; and although this town has not been so severely

* See Appendix, E.

burdened as many others, yet for several years, the annual expense for the maintenance of paupers has been about eleven hundred and fifty dollars.*

The town seems to have felt inclined, on one occasion, to enter into a speculation in the article of paupers. Who first suggested the idea, or advocated the measure, does not appear on the Records. But the following vote was passed, May 9, 1791.

"Voted, that the town will receive one third part of the poor persons supported by the Commonwealth, and they hereby offer and agree, on their part, to support said poor persons, with suitable lodging and boarding, for the term of ten years from and after the time of contracting, provided the Commonwealth will pay them five shillings per week for adults, and two shillings and six pence per week for children, and their proportion of one hundred pounds per annum for doctoring said poor, the money to be paid quarterly; and will remove said poor from Boston at their own expense." I find no evidence that their offer was accepted, nor any further action on the subject, by the town.

So far as I can understand the Records, the meeting-house, erected in 1741, had very few pews in it, but was chiefly filled with seats; those on one side of the house being occupied by males, and those on the other, by females. In 1750, a somewhat difficult task was assigned to a Committee. They were directed to seat the meeting-house anew; that is, to assign a particular seat to each individual; and were directed to place "the highest payers in the highest seats, —having respect to age and other qualifications, except such as have pews."

Chairs were freely used in the house, and at one time became somewhat troublesome; for the town voted, March 4, 1751, "that the chairs standing in the allies be ordered into the place left behind the women seats, and to stand nowhere else."

One place, however, in the rear of the seats occupied by the females, was afterwards rather unceremoniously

* During the present year, an experiment has been commenced, which will probably diminish the expense to the town, and at the same time conduce to the comfort of the paupers. A farm has been purchased, (formerly belonging to the late Mr. Mosee Wheeler,) on which all the paupers have been placed, under the charge of a Superintendent or Warden. This plan has been in operation so short a time, that its results can only be anticipated.

encroached upon by certain young men, who built a pew there for their own use, without liberty from the town. This was an act of indecorum not to be overlooked. And it was voted, March 4, 1754, "that the town refuse to let the young men that have built a seat in the women's side galleries to have it there. Voted, that the same persons have liberty to build their seat on the men's side galleries."

One or two circumstances in regard to the Church, during this period, may be noticed. Two Deacons were elected immediately after its organization ; and in 1746, another was appointed, to wit, Captain Samuel Robinson, who held the office only a short time. At a Church meeting, March 2, 1749, it appears by the Record, that "Deacon Samuel Robinson desired the Church that he might lay down his office of Deacon in said Church ; which desire the Church complied with." The next month, April 13, 1749, "Deacon Paige's desire of laying down the office of Deacon was mentioned to the Church, and a major part thereof complied with and gratified him in his desire, and dismissed him from said office of Deacon." Deacon Allen was left alone. And of him it may be remarked, as a very unusual circumstance, that he held the office of Deacon fifty-six years and nine months. There is no record of any election to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation* of two Deacons ; yet from other circumstances, I feel confident that Mr. John Cooper was elected.

Having thus gathered up a few fragments, I resume the narrative. In 1754, the town, for the first time, elected a Representative. And if they had delayed this matter long, they made amends by at last sending a strong man, viz., Timothy Ruggles, Esq., more generally known as Brigadier Ruggles. It is impossible for me, on this occasion, to give even a sketch of his life and character. A mere enumeration of a few facts must suffice. He was the eldest son of Rev. Timothy Ruggles of Rochester, Mass., where he was born† October 20, 1711; graduated

* I am not aware that any other person ever resigned, or was discharged from the office of Deacon in this Church, (who continued to reside in town,) except Deacon Henry Fish. He was elected April 18, 1819, and resigned May 20, 1830, "on account of bodily infirmity and advanced age."

† The time of his birth has been wrongly stated in other publications. This is given according to a certificate from the Town Clerk of Rochester.

at Harvard University, 1732; commenced practice as a lawyer in his native town, but soon removed to Sandwich, and thence to Hardwick before March, 1754. He was Representative from the town of Rochester one year, 1736, from Sandwich eight years, from 1739 to 1752, and from Hardwick fifteen years, from 1754 to 1770, in all twentyfour years.* He was Speaker of the House in 1762 and 1763; elected Counsellor in 1764, but declined the office; and appointed Counsellor, by mandamus, in 1774. He was appointed Justice of the Peace and Quorum for this County, in 1754; Justice of the Inferior Court, in 1757, and Chief Justice of the same Court, in 1762; which office he held until he left Massachusetts in 1775. He was President of the Congress at New York, in 1765, but refused to sign the petitions which were there drawn up; for which he was reprimanded in his place by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, February 13, 1766.† The reasons which he assigned for his refusal met with a better reception from his townsmen, who voted,‡ that they were "sufficient to justify his conduct." They did not lose their confidence in him for some three or four years afterwards. He finally abandoned his property and his country, rather than prove disloyal to his King. But no persuasions could ever induce him to bear arms against the land of his birth. His services would have been gladly accepted on either side, in the conflict which resulted in the Independence of America. He had proved himself a valiant soldier, and skilful commander, in the French War, which he entered, in 1755, with the commission of Colonel, and in which he was Brigadier General, from 1758 to 1760. Both the King and the Provincial Legislature testified their approbation of his conduct, by very substantial acknowledgments.

To this meagre sketch of General Ruggles's life, I only add, that it was doubtless through his influence, that the "Fair" was established in Hardwick, in 1762; and that he probably contemplated making this a Shire-town, when he attempted, in 1763, to have a new County established, taken partly from Worcester, and partly from Hampshire.

* He represented this town longer than any other individual, except the late Timothy Paige, Esq., who was elected Representative for seventeen successive years, from 1805 to 1821.

† See Appendix, F.

‡ March 3, 1766.

In the French War, of which I have spoken, many of our townsmen were engaged. At this late day, it is probably impossible to ascertain the precise number. But from an examination of the Muster Rolls, now on file in the office of the Secretary of State, I have obtained the names of sixteen commissioned officers, and about one hundred and twenty non-commissioned officers and privates.* Yet even this list is imperfect, as the documents for one or two years cannot be found. Many of these served more than one campaign, and some through the war. This was a large number to be furnished by a town, which, after the close of the war,† contained only two hundred and thirty nine white males, over sixteen years old. Considerably more than one half the effective force of the town was engaged.

Time will not permit me to give the full list. I will only name the officers. Gen. Ruggles served through the whole war. So also did Capt. Samuel Robinson. Capt. Paul Mandell, with almost his whole company, marched against Crown Point, in 1756, and served about two months. Upon the news of danger at Fort William Henry, in 1757, Capt. Joseph Warner immediately marched, with his company, for its defence. After proceeding, however, as far as Kinderhook, he was directed to return. With this exception, the whole number I have mentioned joined the army. Capt. William Paige commanded a company through the whole campaign of 1759. Dr. Joel Carpenter and Dr. Challis Safford were Surgeons, one for one campaign, the other for two. Samuel Robinson jr. was adjutant in Col. Ruggles's Regiment in 1757, being then only eighteen years old. Nathan Stone, Joseph Ruggles, and Philip Safford were Lieutenants, and Ezekiel Pratt, Noah Mandell, and Ezra Leonard, Ensigns.

To these should be added one more, — Capt. Ebenezer Cox. He was born in Dorchester, but in early life removed to Wrentham. He entered the army at the commencement of the war; and his name is borne on a Muster Roll, as Lieutenant, in 1756. He was promoted to the

* The list of names may be found in the Appendix, G.

† The census, taken in 1764, is as follows: — houses, 153; families, 161; white males, over sixteen years old, 239; under sixteen, 259; white females, over sixteen years old, 251; under sixteen, 256; negroes and mulattoes, 8; indians, 2; total, 1010.

rank of Captain, in which office he served with reputation to the close of 1762. He removed his family to Hardwick, in 1760, and here he died, in 1768. Some patriotic poet celebrated his valor, in the following epitaph, inscribed on his tombstone, now standing in the old burying ground : —

“ In memory of Capt. Ebenezer Cox, who died March the 2d, 1768, in the 42d year of his age.

“ Beneath this stone a noble Captain's laid,
Who, for his King and Country, well displayed
His courage, that no terrors could disarm,
Nor, when he faced the foe, his fear alarm.
But now he's conquered ; and the silent grave
Can boast that power the French could never have.
Under his care, his soldiers were secure ;
Equal with them all hardships he'd endure.
In six campaigns, intrepid trod the field,
And to the Gallic power would never yield.
But now he's gone, we hope, where wars do cease,
To spend a whole eternity in peace.”

Between the French War and the commencement of Revolutionary hostilities, only few events appear on the Records, which seem to require notice. The Fair was established by an Act of the General Court, June 12, 1762.* It was an unusual privilege to be granted, at that period. The Fair attracted much attention, and multitudes flocked to it from all the region round about. It was held twice a year, in May and October, when cattle, and various articles of manufacture and merchandise were exhibited, bought, and sold. Wrestling, and various trials of strength and skill, were practised ; and sometimes, it is said, pugilistic encounters were witnessed. It was uniformly under the direction of a Superintendent, Clerk, and from two to four Constables, elected at the annual town meeting. Drummers also were sometimes appointed. James Aiken was Superintendent, until 1771 ; after which, Thomas Robinson was elected, until the Fair was discontinued, by vote of the town, in 1775.

In this period, the meeting-house for the separate Church was erected. The proprietors of the township

* The Act is inserted in the Appendix, H.

gave the land in 1761. The house stood on the easterly side of the old road from the former residence of Doctor Convers Cutler to the road from Hardwick to Ware ; the spot is now owned by the heirs of the late Daniel Ruggles, Esq., and is nearly southwest from the house of Mr. Beals Thomas. The Society had long before held religious meetings, but had no meeting-house, until this was erected. It stood but a short time, after which it was removed, or destroyed.

In September 1767, the town voted to build a new meeting-house. The land on which it was erected was purchased of John Rowe, Esq., of Boston, for six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence. I mention this fact, to show the value of land at that time. It adjoined the Common, on the north, had been improved as a field, and measured one acre and a half. It was bought for less than fifteen dollars an acre.

The house was erected by Deacon Joseph Allen, and Mr. Joseph Safford, who agreed to "finish it in a workmanlike manner, only for the benefit of the money they can raise by the sale of the pews." It is said the contractors lost money in the operation. However this be, the house was erected, and, unlike those which had preceded it, was entirely finished before it was occupied. It appears to have been completed before the close of the year 1771. The town paid the difference between the cost of the steeple and an ordinary porch ; and also paid for the Bell, which, however, was not purchased until 1803.*

While the contractors were engaged in this work, they requested liberty "to build a pew—above the west gallery," which, at first, the town refused ; but afterwards voted, "to grant the undertakers of the Meeting-house the privilege of building a pew over the west Gallery, providing they make it tight and close ; and the town reserved the privilege of having an officer to sit in the pew, to oversee the boys." I know not the recent history of that pew ; but according to my best recollection, an officer would have been as profitably employed there twenty-five or thirty years ago, as in any other part of the house. The apprehensions expressed in the vote were not altogether unfounded.

* Martin Kinsley, Esq., gave his services four years, as Treasurer, towards the purchase of the Bell.

The town purchased of the contractors, or undertakers, the first pew on the west side of the pulpit, as a ministry pew, for twenty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence ; and the pew directly in front of the pulpit, (behind the Deacon's seat,) for twenty pounds. Since my recollection, this pew was regularly occupied by several aged gentlemen, who supposed they could hear the Preacher more distinctly there, than elsewhere. Hence it probably took the name of the "Deaf Pew," by which it was long denominated.

The "body of seats," so called, (six on each side the centre aisle,) was holden as the property of the town, and a committee appointed to assign the several seats to individuals. Some amusing circumstances occurred in relation to this matter, of which I shall mention only one. An individual was notified, that his place was allotted in the sixth seat, that is, the rear one. He appeared well satisfied ; and on entering at the front door, the next Sabbath, as he passed up the aisle he carefully counted, one, two, three, &c., until he came to the front seat, of which he very deliberately and complacently took possession, much to the consternation and annoyance of certain others, to whom that post of honor had been assigned.

Having completed the house, of which our ancestors were justly proud, (for it was then one of the most elegant, and is now one of the largest, in the county,) they took some measures for its preservation, which their less hardy descendants might not altogether approve. They voted, March 2, 1772, "that there be no stows carried into the new Meeting-house, with fire in them." How long this prohibition was enforced, I know not. It is certain, however, that foot-stoves were generally used in the house, more than thirty years ago. But the larger stoves, designed to make the whole house comfortable, were not introduced, until within the last ten or fifteen years. At the present day, it would be regarded as a painful sacrifice of bodily comfort, to sit, in the midst of winter, without any fire in the house, to listen to a sermon one or two hours long, and other services of corresponding length ; — but the men who were preparing, and prepared, to march barefooted in the snow, and lodge on the cold ground, in defence of their liberties, could easily undergo such a slight inconvenience.

I shall detain you with only one more circumstance in regard to this meeting-house. No separate seats appear to have been assigned for the singers, until after this house was erected; and the first proposition to assign such seats here was rejected. But in 1779, "the west division of the front seat, and the first and second seats in the division of the side gallery next adjoining," were granted for their use.

In regard to the singing, a few remarks may be indulged. For the last quarter of a century, this town has enjoyed the benefit of very excellent sacred music. At the time, however, to which my remarks refer, I know not so well the character of the music. I speak rather of the words, and the method of singing them. In 1765, Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms was introduced, by vote of the Church. Probably, President Dunster's revision of the New England version had previously been used. In 1791, Watts's Psalms and Hymns took the place of Tate and Brady, by vote of the town. Other changes have been made since.

An important change, in another respect, was made in 1770. The Church then "voted, with respect to the present method of singing in public worship, that one half of the portion that shall be sung shall be read, line by line, as has been the former practice in this Congregation, sung in some old tune; that the other half shall be sung without being thus read, sung in some new tune; that the Psalm or Hymn that shall be appointed to be sung at the Communion Table shall be read, line by line, and sung in some old tune, so called."* The change, thus partially made, became entire, at a later period. But it was exceedingly disagreeable, at first, to many; and of some, it is said, they would leave the house, while Hymns were sung without being read line by line, in the manner to which they had so long been accustomed,—returning when the singing was concluded. Thus difficult it often-times proves to overcome the influence of deep-seated prejudices.

Having thus brought the narrative to the period of the

* One hymn was sung in this manner at the Celebration, in the "old tune" called St. Martin's. It was "read, line by line," by Deacon Josiah C. Chandler, formerly an inhabitant of Hardwick and Deacon in the Church.

Revolution, I shall relate a few circumstances which occurred in this town, in respect to that momentous affair. But my remarks must necessarily be brief.

In 1766, the town expressed the utmost abhorrence of certain disorderly and riotous proceedings in Boston, which involved the destruction of much property belonging to the King's officers ; and instructed their Representative to vote that the town of Boston should remunerate the sufferers. But they cautiously appended an additional instruction, that he " should take due care that the damages be justly stated and estimated, and no more be voted to any person than the loss he really sustained."

After 1770, the town no more elected General Ruggles Representative, being convinced that, in the approaching contest, no reliance could be placed on him for assistance ; and they did not choose that he should longer act as the leader of the King's party in the House,—for such he confessedly was, before he ceased to be a member. Yet for two years they did not elect any one in his stead ; because, as they afterwards asserted, " the Representative body have not heretofore had that regard paid to them, which we earnestly wished for, and had just reason to expect."

But in 1773, they were excited to action. They then voted, " that our rights and privileges are infringed upon." Paul Mandell, Esq. was elected Representative, and William Paige, Stephen Rice, Daniel Warner, Thomas Robinson, Asa Whitcomb, Ebenezer Washburn, and Edward Ruggles were appointed to give him instructions. The right to instruct public servants was not questioned at that day. It certainly was not questioned in this particular instance ; for the Representative, and the Committee who instructed him, were inspired by the same ardent patriotism, and the same stern resolution to resist oppression to the last extremity. The Instructions were full and ample ; — much too long to be now quoted entire. A single extract may sufficiently indicate their spirit. " We recommend to your vigilance, wisdom, and integrity, the important concerns of this aggrieved, and oppressed people ; taking it for granted that a regard to your own honor and interest, as well as a regard to the honor and welfare of those who have chosen you to represent them, will make you truly attentive to every thing that shall tend to secure

us in a free and full enjoyment of all our Constitutional rights ; carefully guarding against and vigorously opposing (as you would never betray your constituents, nor prove unfaithful to your trust,) every thing and every attempt, that shall naturally tend to destroy our ancient privileges ; and that you will never give up that right into the power of others, which the law of God, Nature, and Nations, hath invested us with."

In 1774, the same Representative was elected, and William Paige, Stephen Rice, and Doctor John Paddleford, appointed to instruct him. He was solemnly charged to do nothing which could "possibly be construed into an acknowledgement" of the power of "Parliament, for altering the government of the Massachusetts Bay;" and that he should "pay no regard, nor act in any manner whatever, with the Council appointed by mandamus from his Majesty;" and in case the Court should be dissolved, as was apprehended, he was empowered to unite with the other members in a Provincial Congress, and thus endeavor "to preserve the liberties of North America."

From the moment in which the first blood was shed in this controversy, the King's name was omitted in the transactions of the town, and their meetings were no longer called by his authority. The last Warrant in his name, on record, is dated February 25, 1775; that for the April meeting is not recorded; the next is dated May 15, 1775, and requires the Constable to warn the inhabitants "agreeable to the Constitution."

At the meeting thus warned, the town elected William Paige, Stephen Rice, and Jonathan Warner, delegates to the Provincial Congress at Watertown, "to consult, deliberate, and resolve upon such further measures as under God shall be effectual to save this people from impending ruin ; and to secure those inestimable liberties derived to us from our ancestors, and which it is our duty to preserve for posterity."

Previously, however, to this time, other measures had been adopted, to assist in the work of delivering this Country from political bondage. In August 1774, the town appointed "fifteen men for a Committee of Correspondence,* nine of whom being met shall have power to act,

* Elsewhere called "Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety."

to correspond with the Committee of the other towns within this Province, respecting the important matters relating to our civil and political rights and privileges, as may be necessary from time to time; and to agree to such measures as may be thought most proper to be taken, in order to frustrate and disappoint the purposes of wicked and designing men to deprive us and our posterity of our just rights and privileges."

The power exercised by this Committee was not exactly unlimited, because they reported their proceedings to the town, from time to time, for approval. But in the general confusion which then prevailed, they exercised, to a certain extent, both judicial and executive authority. And from the known patriotism, and resolution, and energy of the individuals elected, we may be certain that they did not execute their work negligently. A few months after the first appointment of this Committee, the town voted to approve their resolve to "have no dealings with the Tories, except grinding for them." And a short time afterwards, a vote was passed, "that the late proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence, with respect to the Tories, are satisfactory to the town." What these proceedings were, does not distinctly appear on the Records; but I venture to say, they were anything but pleasant to the Tories.

The number of Tories was not great in this town. Some of the most obnoxious were General Ruggles, Daniel Oliver, and Gardner Chandler,* but these left the place at an early period, and their estates, having been confiscated, were settled by Colonel Timothy Paige, the agent appointed by the Government. It is indeed remarkable that General Ruggles, with his vast personal interest, should have had so little influence over the minds of his relatives. Benjamin and Edward Ruggles were his brothers; Thomas Robinson was his cousin; Paul Mandell married his sister; yet all were among the most firm and unyielding patriots in the town. Indeed, when General Ruggles left home to attend a session of the "Mandamus Council," so called, and a multitude assembled at the

* Daniel Oliver was a lawyer, and lived on the place now occupied by Mr. Elliot B. Trow. He was son of Governor Oliver. Gardner Chandler was (probably) son of Gardner Chandler, Esq., of Worcester, then Sheriff of the County. He married Elisabeth Ruggles, 1772.

bridge, near the "old furnace," to prevent him from crossing, his brother, Captain Benjamin Ruggles, was one of the number, and was chief speaker on the occasion. After using other persuasions and expostulations in vain, Benjamin, with much solemnity, assured his brother, that if he persisted in proceeding to Boston, he would never be permitted to return. The Brigadier's warlike spirit was roused. "Brother Benjamin," said he, "I shall come back,—at the head of five hundred troops, if necessary." "Brother Timothy," was the reply, "if you cross that bridge, this morning, you will certainly never cross it again—alive." The General waved his hand with a military gesture, and proceeded at a deliberate pace; the crowd gave way, and he crossed the bridge,—and crossed it for the last time. He never returned; and the two brothers saw each other no more in this world.

I said there were few Tories in town. Perhaps half a dozen, besides those whom I have named, are mentioned on the Town Records. I believe they all departed early, except one; and he was entirely forgiven afterwards, however dissatisfied his townsmen might have been with his opinions for a time. He sustained several town offices, and not long ago died here, having lived nearly a full century.

Before Mr. Chandler departed, a singular vote was passed respecting him. The town had named him as one whom they considered "unfriendly to the common cause of liberty." At the same meeting, it was "voted, that as Gardner Chandler has now made some acknowledgments, and says he is sorry for his past conduct, that they will treat him as a friend, and a neighbor, as long as he shall behave himself well."

In all this confusion, I believe no mob executed "Lynch Law" in this town. There was at least an appearance of legal procedure, in all cases. Once, to be sure, there were strong indications of popular fury. An individual had uttered very imprudent language in town meeting; and as he went out of the house, some persons attempted to seize him. This was noticed by Mr. Thomas Robinson, a firm friend of liberty, in defence of which he ultimately sacrificed a large estate. He caught the luckless individual by the shoulder, and ran with him to the pound, which then stood near the present residence of

Major Gardner Ruggles, and closed the gate behind them. The populace pursued, and surrounded the inclosure. Mr. Robinson addressed them, and endeavored to persuade them to disperse quietly; and at length assured them, that however much he disapproved the offending individual's conduct, he would not see him abused, but would defend him to the last extremity. Being a man of giant form and strength, and known to be fearless and resolute, no one cared to attack him; and he succeeded at last in conveying his charge to a place of greater security, and finally to his home in safety.

In September 1774, the town appointed "a committee to draw up a Covenant that may bind them to abide by whatever a majority of the town may think proper to vote."^{*} This Covenant was subsequently read and approved in town meeting, and very generally subscribed by the citizens. Had any one refused to attach his signature, it would have been regarded as sufficient evidence that he was "unfriendly to the common cause of liberty."

In November 1774, the town approved the proceedings of the Continental Congress. They also appointed a Committee "to post up in some public place the names of those persons, who shall hereafter sell or consume Bohea or India Tea;" and another Committee "to observe the conduct of all persons in this town, touching the observation of the determinations of the Continental Congress." You will have no doubt that the last named Committee performed their duty vigilantly and faithfully, when you learn that their Chairman was Deacon Joseph Allen, and his associates, Jonathan Warner, Thomas Haskell, William Paige, Thomas Robinson, Paul Mandell, and John Paige.

In April 1775, immediately after the intelligence arrived that hostilities had commenced, the town voted "that Lieutenant Timothy Ruggles[†] be put under guard, and also John Rion, until said Ruggles shall satisfy all the men that now live at Brigadier Ruggles's house for their labor, and see that they go out of town forthwith, and see that the arms and ammunition now at Brigadier Rugg-

* About the same time a Covenant was drawn up by General Ruggles, then at Boston, and sent to Hardwick for signatures. It is inserted in the Appendix, I.

[†] Son of General Ruggles.

gles's house are delivered up ; and then he is confined to his farm, not to go out of it excepting on Sabbath days, fast days, or some other public days ; and that he pay the guard for their trouble in taking care of him."

The next month, the town voted to take possession of the guns found at Brigadier Ruggles's "and to return them when they shall think proper." They also "voted that Lieutenant Timothy Ruggles have liberty to go to Boston, and reside there if he pleases." He declined the offer, and remained in the prescribed confinement about six months, when the town voted that he "be set at liberty."

But it was not by such means alone that the inhabitants of this town manifested their patriotism. It is an easy matter for large majorities to pass votes, instruct Representatives, appoint Committees, and even confine a few individuals of the minority, or appropriate their possessions. But a more sure test of devotion to a cause is afforded, when property and even life itself are hazarded in its defence.

The Continental Congress recommended that the Province taxes should be paid to Henry Gardner, Esq., of Stow, whom they appointed Receiver General, instead of Harrison Gray, Esq., the King's Treasurer. This town readily responded to the recommendation,* approved all the proceedings of the Congress, and directed the Constables to pay the taxes to the Receiver General, agreeing to indemnify them for any loss they might thus incur. Thus did they pledge their property to the cause of liberty.

Before the commencement of hostilities, the town took effectual measures to guard against impending dangers, and to be ready for action, whenever it should become necessary. The officers of the militia, in a body, resigned the commissions which they held under the King's authority ; and in September 1774, the town appointed officers for the two companies which were previously organized. They also organized a Company of " Minute Men," whose duty it was, to march at a moment's warning, " upon any sudden invasion, for the defence of our country." And when the summons came, there was no backwardness nor faltering manifested. Intelligence of the Lexington battle reached Hardwick late in the evening of the

* November 17, 1774.

memorable 19th of April, 1775. Before sunrise the next morning, this company, with full ranks, was on the march to Boston.

The town had offered to pay the "minute men" for their services, in case they should be called out for action. But this they were too patriotic to allow, while others were not paid. They proposed at a town meeting, January 2, 1775, "that if the town in general would provide themselves with arms, and be equipped as they be, and endeavor to acquaint themselves with the art military, it would be satisfactory to them, without any other pay." Whereupon the town voted, "that all between sixteen and seventy years of age, be equipped with arms and ammunition equal to the minute men, by the first day of February next;" also voted, "that all above forty years of age meet at the training field on Monday next at nine o'clock in the forenoon, to choose their officers." When thus assembled, they organized two companies of "alarm men." Of one company, Deacon Joseph Allen, then sixty seven years of age, was elected Captain; and of the other, Deacon William Paige,* about fifteen years younger. These proceedings are entered on the town Records, and the officers probably had no authority except such as they derived from the town. Thus while this town contained not much more than twelve hundred inhabitants, five military companies, averaging about fifty men each, were prepared for service, before the first blood was shed in the contest; — one for action in any sudden emergency; two for more regular service, in such detachments as circumstances might require; and two of old men, to defend their hearth-stones at the last extremity, and to sacrifice their lives, if necessary, in defence of their families.

When the hour for action came, our ancestors were ready, and did not flinch from the struggle. I cannot go into particulars, on this subject; nor need I, if I could. It may suffice to say, that they furnished their allotted quotas of men, provisions, and clothing. There is no evidence within my knowledge, that they failed to do so, in a single instance. One or two facts may sufficiently indicate the extent of the services and sacrifices demanded of them. In one year, the town adopted measures to induce "one

* The same who had served as Captain in the French War.

seventh part of the male inhabitants, — from sixteen years old and upwards,” to “engage in the Continental service for the term of three years, or during the war.” To encourage voluntary enlistments, to complete this number the town voted,* “to allow fifty dollars to each soldier that will enlist into the Continental service for three years, or during the war, and to supply them with the necessaries of life at prime cost;” and appointed Captain Daniel Warner, to pay the bounties, and “Captain Daniel Warner, and Captain Timothy Paige, a committee, to supply the soldiers with the necessaries of life.” The enlistment not being complete, the deficiency was supplied by dividing the companies of militia into small sections, and requiring each section to furnish one soldier. It must not be forgotten that both before and after this engagement of “one seventh part of the male inhabitants, — from sixteen years old and upwards,” very many of the inhabitants were in the army, for longer or shorter terms.

During a portion of the war, it is not easy to determine from the Records the precise sum of money, which the town was obliged to pay. But in 1780, the amount paid for soldiers’ wages, provisions, and clothing, was about fifteen hundred dollars ; and in 1781, nearly eight hundred dollars were paid, for provisions and clothing only.

Such were some of the sacrifices required and made ; and they may serve as a specimen of many more. And to make the case the more aggravated, we must not forget that the currency was in a miserable condition. No man knew, when he received money, whether he could dispose of it again for half its apparent value. It depreciated so rapidly, that it was almost impossible for the imagination, even, to keep pace with it. Some idea of the subject may be formed, from a vote of the town July 28, 1780 :—“voted to give to each soldier one thousand pounds, which is esteemed equal to twelve pounds in silver money.” One dollar in silver was equal to eighty three dollars and a third in paper.†

* May 29, 1777.

† The late Daniel Ruggles, Esq., informed me some years ago, that having served in the army three months, he received his pay in paper money. He kept it some little time, hoping its value might increase ; but it continued to depreciate rapidly, until at last, he paid the whole amount for an article which might have been purchased for twenty-five cents in silver. Indeed the paper money at last became utterly worthless, and was never redeemed.

These facts may serve as a specimen of the sacrifices made in the cause of liberty. For such sacrifices we are bound to respect and venerate our ancestors, and to keep their patriotism in perpetual remembrance.

I have not the means to give the names of all who served in the war of the Revolution.* But I cannot persuade myself to leave the subject entirely, without naming the small remnant that yet survive. Not knowing, precisely, their comparative ages, I shall name them in alphabetical order; Sylvanus Brimhall, Jeremiah Campbell, Adonijah Dennis, John Gorham, Theophilus Hastings, Timothy Hathaway, Samuel Hinkley, Zenas Phinney, Samuel Spooner, and David Whipple.

I shall notice very briefly the action of this town, in respect to the organization of a new Government. In January 1778, "after reading the articles of Confederation and perpetual Union of the United States in America, the town voted, unanimously, to give their Representatives of the great and General Court, instructions to vote to confirm the same." But though they were thus unanimous in favor of Union and Liberty, they were by no means pleased with the particular Constitution, or Frame of Government, formed in Massachusetts, in 1778. When it was submitted for their consideration,† they signified their disapproval by a vote of one hundred and forty to sixteen; and, the next year,‡ voted unanimously in favor of having it revised.

Nor were they entirely satisfied with the Constitution, adopted in 1780, which remained unchanged for the space of forty years. When assembled§ to express their judgment concerning it, they suggested several amendments, some of which I shall mention. A considerable number were founded on a single principle; to wit, that the power of the Government was removed further from the people, than was desirable. A manifest anxiety is discoverable, on the part of this town, to have the Government chiefly, if not entirely, in the hands of the House of Representatives. They saw no necessity for a Senate; and could not abide the idea of having the Senate control the House, by an absolute negative. If there must be a Senate, they

* An imperfect list may be found in the Appendix, K.

† April 6, 1778.

‡ May 11, 1779.

§ May 25, 1780.

proposed that it should have power to prevent the passage of any law "but for a given time, and at the expiration of said time, if non-agreed, that both houses meet, and by a majority decide the controversy." On the same principle, they objected to the Governor's power to prevent the passage of a law, by refusing his consent. Indeed, they disapproved the idea of having a Governor; but if they must have one, they would have him invested with as little power as possible. And they therefore proposed, that "if the inhabitants of this State shall see meet to choose a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Council, they should by no means have power over the militia; but the militia shall be under the order and direction of the General Court; and they, or either of them, shall not prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the General Court, without their request; and that they by no means appoint any officers, either civil, judicial, or military."

Other amendments were proposed, which have since been substantially adopted. For example, in regard to the qualification of voters, they urged that the possession of a certain amount of property, or income, ought not to be required, because "every male, being twenty-one years of age, ought to vote in all cases." In regard to the support of public worship, they objected to compelling a man to pay a tax for preaching, which he did not hear, or approve; and urged, that "a person that does not attend the public worship of God at any place, ought not to be taxed in the place where he lives." They even objected to the paragraph in the Bill of Rights, which declares that "all men are born free and equal," and proposed an amendment. Had they then become recreant in the cause of liberty? or while they were yet exposing their lives, and expending their substance, to secure it for themselves, were they unwilling that others should enjoy the same blessing? Far from it. They objected to the article, not because it asserted more than they were willing to confirm, but because it did not appear to them sufficiently definite and distinct. They proposed that it should be amended thus,—"all men, whites and blacks, are born free and equal;" and gave this reason,—"lest it should be misconstrued, hereafter, in such a manner, as to exclude blacks." Believing that God hath created of one blood all men who dwell on all the face of the earth, they gave

their testimony that all were naturally entitled to equal rights and privileges. Nor should they be accused of fastidiousness in this matter. Their apprehensions, to a certain extent, were well founded. Some did thus misconstrue the Constitution, not many years afterwards. The subject came before a legal tribunal for adjudication; and the decision was first made and recorded in our own County, that slavery cannot exist in Massachusetts.

I now approach a portion of our history, over which, for obvious reasons, I shall pass lightly. In 1786, a dissatisfaction, which had been for some time increasing under the intolerable burdens* which almost crushed the people, terminated in open rebellion. This town, like many others in this and the western Counties, united in the effort to obtain relief by resisting the Government. One of the most able and active officers in the "Shays' army," was a native and inhabitant of this town. Doubtless a majority of the inhabitants were of the same party, and many of them joined the army. But I have not investigated the matter very closely; nor do I desire to do so. It is sufficient to know that, however improper was the course they pursued, there were strong temptations, and some may think sufficient causes. I am willing to believe, that though their conduct was not justifiable, most of them were honest, and conscientious. It is certain that they afterwards became quiet citizens, and supporters of the Constitution and Government of our common Country. Very few votes are on record concerning this matter. There are two, however, which I shall quote, as they manifest a good state of moral feeling, and have the appearance of constitutionality. On the 8th of January 1787, the town elected "a committee to petition the General Court,—that Captain Shattuck and others lately imprisoned at Boston may be liberated; and that the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions may be suspended till a new election." And on the 29th day of the same month, it was voted, "to choose a Committee to repair to

* The public debt in Massachusetts was more than £3,000,000, while the rateable polls were but little more than 90,000; being an average of 100 dollars to each poll. Besides, the several towns were deeply in debt, on account of the supplies and bounties furnished to soldiers. See Minot's History of the Insurrection.

General Lincoln's and Shays's army, in order to accommodate matters, if possible to prevent the shedding of blood."

That I may here close all notice of warlike proceedings, I remark that, in the war of 1812, this town furnished a few soldiers; but the number was small. A majority of the inhabitants disapproved both the war, and the preceding demonstrations of hostility. I find only two votes, however, having direct reference to this subject. These I shall quote, because both express the views entertained by the town, in a constitutional manner, and because one manifests a generous spirit on the part of the majority. In September 1808, the town "voted to petition his Excellency the President of the United States, to suspend in part or the whole of the Law laying an Embargo;" and appointed "Timothy Paige, Esq., Mr. Jeduthun Spooner, Colonel Stephen Rice, Captain Thomas Wheeler, and Mr. Jason Mixter, a Committee to make a draught of the abovementioned petition, which was accordingly done,—and the town voted to accept the same." This petition was not recorded. Another town meeting was holden July 26, 1812, "to take into consideration the critical and alarming situation of our Country, and to adopt measures in concert with our brethren of this and the rest of the United States, which they in their wisdom shall think best adapted to remove the calamities we feel, and to avert those which we fear." Under this article in the Warrant, the town appointed a committee to consider the subject, and ordered their Report to be placed on record; but I have not been able to find it. This Committee embraced a portion of both political parties,—four individuals from the majority, and three from the minority;—to wit, William Cutler, Esq., Samuel Eastman, Esq., John Hastings, Esq., Colonel Stephen Ricé, Captain John Raymond, Mr. Jeduthun Spooner, and Mr. David Whipple. As no further action was had by the town, in its corporate capacity, in relation to the war, I may here dismiss that subject entirely.

A rapid glance at the ecclesiastical affairs of the town from the period heretofore spoken of, is all which time will permit, on this occasion.

Before the death of Mr. White, several ineffectual attempts had been made to settle a colleague. One, being very unusual in that period, deserves notice. In 1779, the town took the lead in desiring the settlement of Rev. Joel Foster,* and requested the concurrence of the Church, which was refused. The town persisted for a time; but at length the project was abandoned.

Various candidates were employed, for the space of five years and a half, after Mr. White's decease, without success. Once, indeed, an individual, Rev. Medad Rogers, was engaged, and a day fixed for his ordination. The people assembled, but the Council refused to proceed. It may be safely concluded, however, that nothing criminal was proved against Mr. Rogers; for two weeks afterwards, the Church† renewed their call, in which the town concurred.

At length, Rev. Thomas Holt, having received a unanimous invitation, was ordained,‡ June 25, 1789. His salary was only three hundred dollars per annum. Finding this sum too small for a comfortable support, he requested a dismission, which was granted; and his connexion with the Church and Society terminated, March 27, 1805. During his ministry, he admitted 65 persons into the Church, baptized 191, and married 177 couples. He was subsequently settled in that portion of Ipswich, which is now Essex, where he remained from January 25, 1809, until April 20, 1813. After that period he was occasionally engaged in missionary labors; but his residence was in Hardwick, until his death, February 21, 1836, at the age

* Mr. Foster graduated at Dartmouth College, 1777; was ordained at New Salem, June 9, 1779; dismissed, for want of an adequate support, January 21, 1802; installed at East Sudbury, (now Wayland,) September 7, 1803; in which town he died, September 25, 1812, aged 57. "He possessed excellent pulpit talents, and was specially gifted in prayer."

‡ Mass. Hist. Coll. iv. 62.

† By a vote of 40 to 7.

‡ The services at Mr. Holt's ordination were as follows: —

Introductory Prayer,	Rev. Charles Backus,	Somers,	Con.
Sermon,	Rev. Benjamin Trumbull,	North Haven,	"
Consecrating Prayer,	Rev. Josiah Dana,	Barre,	Ms.
Charge,	Rev. Nathan Fiske,	Brookfield,	"
Fellowship,	Rev. Daniel Foster,	New Braintree,	"
Concluding Prayer,	Rev. Joseph Appleton,	Brookfield,	"
Rev. Daniel Tomlinson, Oakham, Ms., Rev. John Willard jr., Meriden, Con., and Rev. Joseph Blodgett, Greenwich, Ms., were also members of the ordaining Council. Rev. Mr. Fiske was Moderator, and Rev. Mr. Foster, Scribe.			

of seventy-three years. He was the son of Daniel and Mary Holt, born at Meriden, Connecticut, November 9, 1762, and graduated at Yale College, 1784. He married Sarah, daughter of Rev. Ebenezer Chaplin of Sutton, by whom he had seven children; five of whom, with their mother, yet survive.

The successor of Mr. Holt was Rev. William Brigham Wesson; who was ordained* October 30, 1805, and continued in the ministry until June 30, 1824, when at his request he was dismissed. During his ministry, he admitted 254 persons into the Church, baptized 440, and married 211 couples. He was born in Hopkinton, May 29, 1777; but in early life removed to Athol, with his parents, William and Mary Wesson; and graduated at Williams College, 1802. He married Azubah Maria, daughter of Abner and Alice Graves of Athol, who yet survives, with four children. After his dismission, Mr. Wesson continued to reside in Hardwick, until his death, May 9, 1836, at the age of fifty-nine years.

As the Church and Society was divided into two distinct branches, before the settlement of a successor to Mr. Wesson, I may here close my notice of it. I shall merely add the succession of ministers, in the two branches. Rev. John M. Merrick was ordained over that portion which retained the old meeting-house, August 27, 1828, and dismissed, March 1832. Rev. John Goldsbury, the present pastor, graduated at Brown University, 1820, and formerly settled at North Bridgewater, was installed, July 4, 1832. The other branch of the original Church and Society erected the brick meeting-house in 1828. Their first minister, after the separation, was Rev. Martyn Tupper, who was ordained, April 16, 1828, and dismissed, April 29, 1835. His successor, Rev. Edward J. Fuller, was installed, November 3, 1835, and dismissed, March 22, 1837. The present pastor, Rev. William Eaton, gradu-

* At Mr. Wesson's ordination the services were as follows:—

Introductory Prayer,	Rev. Daniel Tomlinson,	Oakham,	Ms.
Sermon,	Rev. Joseph Lee,	Royalston,	"
Consecrating Prayer,	Rev. Joseph Pope,	Spencer,	"
Charge,	Rev. Ephraim Ward,	Brookfield,	"
Fellowship,	Rev. Thomas Mason,	Northfield,	"
Concluding Prayer,	Rev. Joseph Blodgett,	Greenwich,	"

 Rev. Joshua Crosby, Greenwich, (now Enfield,) Rev. Ezekiel L. Bascom, Gerry, (now Phillipston,) Rev. John Fisk, New Braintree, and Rev. Thomas Snell, Brookfield, were also members of the ordaining Council. Rev. Mr. Ward was Moderator, and Rev. Mr. Snell, Scribe.

ated at Williams College, 1810, and formerly settled at Charlotte, Vt., was installed, September 6, 1837. As all these gentlemen are still living, I forbear to go further into particulars.

A Baptist Society has long existed in this town. It was organized November 16, 1797. The Church in connexion with it was instituted, September 16, 1801. Rev. Ebenezer Burt, the first settled pastor of this Society and Church, was ordained, June 20, 1798. He is still living; but was dismissed from his pastoral office, November 19, 1827. During his long-continued ministry he baptized and admitted into the Church 134 persons; and married 75 couples. The second pastor, Rev. Joseph Glazier, was installed, August 2, 1831, and dismissed, April 1835. The present pastor, Rev. Nelson B. Jones, entered upon the ministerial office, May 1837.* This Church and Society have uniformly held their meetings near the south-west corner of the town. The first meeting-house was erected in 1801. In 1832 a new and commodious edifice was erected, which is highly creditable to the zeal and enterprise of the society.

For a long period, there have been in Hardwick many individuals, professing a belief in the final salvation of all men. The Universalist Society, however, as such, is of recent date. It was organized in 1824. Both before and since its organization, this society has had occasional preaching, according to its ability and opportunity. Rev. John Bisbe labored here frequently, while he resided in Brookfield. He was born in Plympton, graduated at Brown University in 1814, was ordained in Brookfield, removed thence to Hartford; and having preached there a few years, removed to Portland, Me., where he died, March 8, 1828, at the age of 36 years. He was regarded as an uncommonly eloquent and powerful speaker, an honest man, and a Christian. His wife was a daughter of Constant Ruggles, Esq., of this town, and is now the wife of Daniel Jackson, Esq., of Plymouth. One daughter also survives.

* The whole number of baptisms in this Church is 214. By Mr. Burt 184; by Mr. Glazier 42; by Mr. Jones 7; by other persons 31. This does not include those who have been admitted into the Church by letters from other Churches.

Since Mr. Bisbe's removal, Rev. Joshua Flagg, Rev. John H. Willis, and Rev. John Pierce, have at different times preached to this Society. The present preacher is Rev. Gilman Noyes. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1830, and resides in Spencer, preaching to this Society once a month. The meetings of this Society are holden in the Town House.

Before I close, a few miscellaneous topics demand a passing notice.

This town enjoys a healthy atmosphere, and a very large proportion of its inhabitants have lived to old age. I have taken some pains to ascertain the number of deaths in town, during the last forty-nine years. Before that period, the Records are so imperfect, that nothing satisfactory can be gleaned. But from the commencement of Mr. Holt's ministry, the Ecclesiastical and Town Records combined afford tolerably accurate details. So far as I can ascertain, the whole number of deaths for the last forty-nine years has been 1122. Of this number 202, more than a sixth part of the whole, have attained the age of seventy years or upwards.* The average number of deaths yearly is a fraction short of 23. The greatest number in any one year was 55, in 1803, when the canker-rash prevailed, (as it did also in 1795, 1796, and 1802,) and was very fatal to children. The next greatest number was 49, in 1814, when a malignant fever prevailed. It is remarkable that in 1810, when the spotted fever was so fatal elsewhere, though more than 60 cases of it occurred in this town, the whole number of deaths in that year was less than the average for 49 years. I know not that the town has been visited at any other time with a fatal epidemical disease, until the present year; in which the number of deaths, thus far, has been greater in proportion to the number of months,† than in any year since 1814. On the whole, your location must be regarded as very favorable to health and long life. And when you thank God for his numerous blessings, let not this be forgotten.

One more fact I mention with much gratification. So far as I can ascertain, not a single individual, born in

* See Appendix, no. iii.

† The number of deaths, previous to November 15, has been thirty-two.

Hardwick, has ever suffered death for a capital crime.* And I may mention in this connexion, that no murder was ever known to be committed in this town.†

In reviewing the lives and conduct of our ancestors, we find much which demands commendation,—some few things which may excite a smile,—but nothing which need tinge our cheeks with a blush of shame. Let us keep their virtues in perpetual remembrance ; and thank God for making us children of such fathers.

Of those who commenced the settlement here, not one remains. Most of those who were active, during the first fifty years of our history, have also departed. They sleep in the grave,—all that was mortal of them,—chiefly in the enclosure near this house, which was originally devoted as a burial place, by the proprietors of the township. I exceedingly regret that a few individuals have manifested a disposition to appropriate it to other purposes entirely. I know not how some persons may feel on this subject. But my fathers sleep in that ground ; and I would gladly preserve their remains from indignity. In regard to most of my fellow citizens, I may say your fa-

* The only native of Hardwick ever convicted of a capital offence, was Captain John Wheeler, an officer who distinguished himself in the Shays Insurrection. He was convicted of treason, April 9, 1787, but afterwards, April 30, 1787, fully pardoned, and thenceforth lived a quiet and peaceful life. He had before perilled his life in the war of the Revolution, and being successful, was accounted a patriot. Partaking of the delusion which so extensively prevailed in 1786, he again resisted the constituted authorities, at the hazard of his life. He was unsuccessful, and was adjudged to be a traitor. Yet he was, doubtless, as honest and conscientious in the one case as in the other ; and is by no means to be classed with murderers, burglars, and others, whose crimes are pronounced capital, and justly so, in the statutes.

† Mrs. Mary Crowell, wife of Mr. Joshua Crowell, aged 82 years, was killed by her daughter, Mrs. Hannah Spooner, January 27, 1807. Mrs. Spooner had long been insane, though not considered dangerous to the safety of others. But on the evening of the day before mentioned, unnoticed by others in the same room until too late, she inflicted a wound upon her mother's head, with an axe, which was almost instantaneously fatal. From this time, she was carefully guarded. Yet she succeeded, notwithstanding the care of her friends, in destroying her own life, December 16, in the same year. She had a brother, Thomas Crowell, who was also insane, but being inoffensive, was for many years allowed perfect liberty. At length it was judged prudent to confine him at night, lest he should do some damage by fire. This precaution proved unavailing; for on the night of January 22, 1812, he communicated fire to the house. It was not discovered until it had progressed so far that the family had scarcely time to escape, without their clothes. The house and all its contents were consumed, and the unfortunate maniac perished in the flames.

thers sleep there, and it becomes you to watch over them. They who converted a howling wilderness into fruitful fields and pleasant gardens, sleep there. They sleep there, who labored, suffered privation, and freely perilled their lives in contests with savage beasts and more savage men, that we might enjoy plenty, and liberty, and peace. Of all which they once possessed, they withheld nothing from us, but that small spot of ground, where, with their fellow-laborers and fellow-sufferers, their wives and their children, they might rest in peace till the resurrection. Let us not grudge them this scanty pittance. They gave us their houses and lands ;—do not deprive them of their graves. Let not their ashes be scattered to the four winds, nor their bones be thrown out, to be trampled under foot by the unthinking multitude. Let not that spot of ground, already shorn, on three sides, of its original proportions, be further desecrated. Let it rather be neatly and substantially enclosed, and planted with trees and shrubbery. It will then be a pleasant retreat for meditation, an ornament to your village, and a perpetual monument of your respect for the memory of your ancestors.

Fellow citizens :— Our ancestors have departed, and they will no more return to us. But we shall soon go to them. When another hundred years shall have rolled away, not one of us will remain on the earth. Some earlier, some later, but all of us before that period, must close our eyes in death ; and the places that know us will know us no more. Let us so improve the remnant of life, by obedience to the divine precepts, that we may enjoy the approbation of our own consciences, while we live ; and that our posterity, if they shall hereafter assemble on a similar anniversary, may not have occasion so much to lament our vices, as to applaud our virtues. While we continue in the flesh, let us trust in God, and be grateful to him for every blessing which he bestows. And although, by a universal and invariable law of nature, we know that the earthly house of the tabernacles we now inhabit must dissolve, and the dust return unto the earth as it was,— let us evermore rejoice in the belief that the spirit shall return unto God who gave it, to dwell forever in a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

APPENDIX No. I.

DOCUMENTS MENTIONED IN THE ADDRESS.

A. PAGE 6.

Extracts from a "Narrative of the Indian Wars," &c., "by William Hubbard, A. M., Minister of Ipswich." Boston, 1775.

"July 28, 1675, Capt. Wheeler was sent to assist Capt. Hutchinson with a party of 20 horse, to treat further about the peace, who going first to Quaboag or Brookfield *** they obtained of those Nipnets the promise of a treaty upon the 2d of August. *** But finding no Indians, so secure were they, that they ventured along further, to find the infidels at their chief town, never suspecting the least danger, but when they had rode four or five miles that way, they fell into an ambush of two or three hundred Indians, *** eight of them being shot down upon the place, whereof three were of Brookfield, and three mortally wounded, whereof Capt. Hutchinson was one." &c. — pp. 78, 79.

Certain troops which soon arrived from Springfield, "did the next day march up to a place called Memiminisset by the Indians, where Capt. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler were assaulted," &c. — pp. 83, 84.

Extracts from "Capt. Thomas Wheeler's Narrative of an Expedition with Capt. Edward Hutchinson into the Nipmuck Country, and to Quaboag, now Brookfield, Mass. first published 1675." Republished in N. Hamp. Hist. Coll. ii. 5 — 23.

"From thence [Brookfield] the same day, (being August 1,) we understanding that the Indians were about ten miles northwest from us, we sent out four men," &c. — p. 6.

"At length some of the chief Sachems promised to meet us on the next morning about 8 of the clock upon a plain within three miles of Brookfield; *** but the treacherous heathen intending mischief, (if they could have opportunity,) came not to the place. *** But the three men who belonged

to Brookfield were so strongly perswaded of their freedome from any ill intentions towards us,—that the said Captain Hutchinson who was principally intrusted with the matter of Treaty with them, was thereby encouraged to proceed and march forward towards a swampe where the Indians then were. When we came near the said swampe, the way was so very bad that we could march only in a single file, there being a very rocky hill on the right hand, and a thicke swampe on the left. In which there were many of those cruel blood-thirsty heathen, who there way laid us, waiting an opportunity to cut us off; there being also much brush on the side of the said hill, where they lay in ambush to surprise us. When we had marched there about sixty or seventy rods, the said perfidious Indians sent out their shot upon us as a showre of haile, they being (as was supposed) about two hundred men or more.” — pp. 7, 8.

From these testimonies, it appears that the battle occurred at a place called Meminimisset, (or Winnimesset,) about ten miles, according to one account, or seven or eight miles, according to the other, from Brookfield; between a hill on the right hand, (or east side,) and a swamp on the left. The name and description of the place, and its distance and direction from Brookfield, clearly indicate the spot mentioned in the Address; and I am not aware that any other place can be found, combining all these characteristics.

B. PAGE 7.

Copy of the Deed, as recorded in the Proprietors' Records.

“ Know all men by these presents, that we, John Magus, Lawrence Nassowanno, Attorneys to Anogomok, Sachem of the tract of Land called Wombemesisecook, James and Simon, sons and heirs of Black James, Sachem of the Nipmug country, for divers good causes and considerations us thereunto moving, and more especially for and in consideration of the sum of twenty Pounds currant money of New England to us in hand paid by Joshua Lamb, Nathaniel Paige, Andrew Gardner, Benjamin Gamblin, Benjamin Tucker, John Curtis, Richard Draper, and Samuel Ruggles, of Roxbury, in the County of Suffolk, in New England, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge ourselves therewith to be fully satisfyed, contented and paid, have given, granted, bargained, sold, aliened, enfeoffed, and confirmed, and by these presents do fully, freely, and absolutely give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoffe, and confirm unto the said Lamb, Paige, Gardner, Gamblin, Tucker, Curtis, Draper, and Ruggles, their heirs and assigns, a cer-

tain tract or parcel of land, containing by estimation twelve miles long, north and south, and eight miles wide, east and west, situate, lying, and being neer Quabaug, commonly known by the name of Wombemesisecook, being butted and bounded southerly upon the land that Joseph Dudley Esqr. lately purchased of the Indians, easterly the southermost corner upon a pond called Sasagookapaug, and so by a brook which runneth into said pond, and so up northerly unto a place called Ueques, and so still northerly until it meets with a River called Nenameseck, and westerly by the River until it comes against Quaboge bounds, and joins unto their bounds, or however otherwise butted and bounded, together with all and singular the rights, commodities, liberties, priviledges, and appurtenances, whatsoever to the land belonging, or howsoever otherwise appertaining: To have and to hold the said tract or parcel of land, situate, containing, and bounded as aforesaid, to the said Lamb, Paige, Gardner, Gamblin, Tucker, Curtiss, Draper, and Ruggles, their heirs and assigns, in common tenancy to their only use, benefit, and behoofe forever. And the said John Magus, Lawrence Nassowanno, attorneys as aforesaid, James and Simon, heirs of Black James as aforesaid, do covenant, promise, and grant from themselves, heirs, executors, and administrators, to and with the said Joshua Lamb, Nathaniel Paige, Andrew Gardner, Benjamin Gamblin, Benjamin Tucker, Richard Draper, *and Samuel Ruggles, their heirs and assignes, that thay will warrant and defend the above granted and bargained land, and every part and parcel thereof, with their and every of their appurtenances, from all and every person and persons whatsoever, claiming any right or title thereto, or interest therein, from, by, or under us. In witness whereof the said John Magus, Lawrence Nassowanno, attorneys as aforesaid, James and Simon, have hereunto set their hands and seals this twenty-seventh day of December, Anno Domini one thousand six hundred and eighty-six, annoq. R. Rs Jacobi Secundi Angliee, &c. Secundo.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us,

JOHN MAGUS, [†]	(seal.)
his	
LAWRENCE X NASSOWANNO, (seal.)	
mark.	
JOHN GARDNER,	JAMES X his mark. (seal.)
SAMUELL MAY.	SIMON X his mark. (seal.)
	ANOOGOMOG X his mark. (seal.)

* The name of John Curtis is here omitted.

† As I cannot give a fac-simile of the original marks, without having new types cast, I use the common cross in each case. It will be perceived that John Magus wrote his name.

"John Magus, James, and Simon, Indians, subscribers of this instrument, personally appearing acknowledged the same to be their act and Deed. June 25, 1687.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

"Received and Recorded, May 7th, 1723, in the Records of the County of Hampshire, Book N. D. Page 237.

Per JOHN PYNCHON, Regt."

C. PAGE 9.

It appears by the records of the General Court, Nov. 27, 1729, that there was presented "a petition of Isaac Burr, John King, and sundry others, shewing that they are settled upon a certain tract of land bounded easterly by Brookfield, southerly and westerly by Brimfield, and northerly by Coldspring, by admission of the Reverend Mr. Timothy Ruggles of Rochester, and others, a committee of the proprietors of said land, (as they call themselves,) praying that they may have the grant and authority of this Court for settling on said land, and be exempted from the conditions they have entered into with the said Committee." An order of notice was issued; the parties heard by counsel; and the petition was rejected. Hence it is evident that the proprietors claimed as far south as the Chickapee River, which was then the north line of Brimfield; and though they were at last confined to much more contracted limits, their claim was so far allowed to be just, that the land was for a time refused to others.

D. PAGE 16.

"*Anno Regni Regis Georgii 2d, &c. 12mo.*

"An Act for erecting a plantation in the County of Worcester, called Lambstown, into a township by the name of

"Whereas the plantation of Lambstown, so called, in the County of Worcester is competently filled with inhabitants, who labour under divers inconveniences and difficulties for want of a power of enjoying and exercising town's privileges among them, and have addressed this Court setting forth the same, and praying for relief therein.

"Be it enacted by his Excellency the Governor, Council, and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said plantation of Lambstown inclusive of the additional grant, lying and being on both sides Weare River as the same is hereafter bounded and described, be and hereby is constituted and erected into a separate and distinct township, by the name of

"The bounds of said township being as follows; viz. Beginning at the East bank of Ware River at the north west

corner of a tract of land laid out to James Hovey; from thence extending southerly as that line runs to Brookfield bounds; and from thence easterly as Brookfield bounds run, to the southwesterly corner of Brantree six thousand acres; and from thence extending northwesterly bounding northeasterly on said six thousand acres till the line comes to Ware River, and so over the River the same course till it comes to the corner of Brantree grant, and there strikes on Rutland Line. Then running N. 39° W. 1760 perch; then S. 40° W. 1800 perch; then S. $1^{\circ} 30'$ W. 1030 perch; then E. $2^{\circ} 30'$ N. 1005 perch to Ware River.

" And that the Inhabitants thereof be and hereby are vested and endowed with equal powers, privileges, and immunities which any of the Inhabitants of any of the other towns of this Province are or by law ought to be vested with.

" Provided nevertheless, that the Inhabitants of said Town do within three years from the publication of this act erect and finish a suitable and convenient Meeting house for the public Worship of God among them, they having already an orthodox minister settled among them."

The foregoing is a copy of the original Bill, or act of Incorporation, on file in the office of the Secretary of State. The Act was consented to, or approved, by the Governor, January 10, 1739. On the following day, an order of Court was passed, which is copied below.

" Ordered, That Mr. Christopher Paige, a principal Inhabitant of a new Town lately erected at a plantation called Lambstown in the County of Worcester, by the name of Hardwicke be and hereby is fully authorized and empowered to assemble the freeholders and other qualified voters there, on the first monday in March next, in some convenient publick place in said Town, in order to their chusing a Town Clerk, and other Town Officers for the year then next ensuing."

E. PAGE 24.

In 1754, Gen. Ruggles presented a petition to the General Court, for the remission of a fine, which had been imposed on the town in 1751, for not sending a Representative. The petition was granted. The reasons urged, which I copy from the original, on file in the Secretary's office, were the following:

" That the Inhabitants of said Town less than twenty years before that time first began the settlement thereof, and in general went on said lands in poor and low circumstances, and by means of the exceeding roughness of said lands they are to this day obliged to expend yearly large sums in making and repair-

ing their highways, and even this year are at the expense of a hundred pounds Lawful money for that purpose, and must be at the expense of some thousands of pounds upon their roads, before they will be brought to be as good as most of the roads in the Province are by nature, beside several large Bridges they are obliged to build and maintain; as also their crops of Indian corn having been for several years cut short to that degree that they have been obliged to buy and bring from the Towns upon Connecticut River near half the Corn necessary for their subsistence; as also at that time there were not much above eighty families in said Town, many of which were extremely poor; and before and ever since the Inhabitants of said Town are obliged to be at a great expense for the support of several poor and indigent persons; for which reasons your memorialist in behalf of said Town, most humbly prays for the remission of the aforesaid fine." &c.

Some of these reasons, I apprehend, were pretty highly colored, for the purpose of making out a case; particularly in regard to the number of paupers, and the number and poverty of the inhabitants.

F. PAGE 27.

The reprimand administered to General Ruggles, by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Feb. 13, 1766, as entered on the General Court Records, was in these words:—

"Brigadier Ruggles, the House last evening voted, that with respect to your conduct at the late Congress at New York, you were guilty of neglect of duty, and thereupon ordered, that you should receive a reprimand from the Speaker of this House. Therefore

"Sir, in discharge of my duty as Speaker of this House, and in pursuance of their order, I do reprimand you accordingly. Sir, it gives me very sensible pain, that a gentleman who has been heretofore in such high estimation in this House, should fall under their publick censure.

"I hope, Sir, that by your future conduct, you will not only regain the good opinion this House have heretofore entertained of you; but also the good opinion of all those whose displeasure you may have fallen under on this occasion."

A vote was then passed, permitting him to have the reasons which he offered in justification, printed in the Journal. But, Feb. 19, "Brigadier Ruggles (according to order,) laid upon the table his reasons for his conduct at the Congress at New York, which being read, after a debate the question was put, whether the paper offered as containing his reasons be printed in the Journal of the House? It passed in the negative."

He afterwards caused his "reasons" to be published in the "Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser," May 5, 1766, now in the Boston Athenæum. They were briefly these:—

1. Because the proceedings did not indicate so much "duty and loyalty to the best of Sovereigns," as to meet his approbation.
2. Because he judged it more proper, that such petitions and remonstrances should be signed by the Speakers of the Representative bodies.
3. Because some of the Provinces were not represented, and the representatives of others were not empowered to sign. The signing, therefore, could not be general.
4. Because "a matter of so great importance to the Colonies, and of so delicate a nature as the open and avowed claim of an exclusive right of taxation (however true) to be asserted in addresses to the King and Parliament, for relief from an Act made by this very Parliament, was a measure I could not bring myself to adopt."
5. Because the petitions or addresses would have been more graciously received, if signed by the Speakers of the Representative bodies.

Having rendered his reasons, (of which I have given the substance,) he closed, by appealing to his past services, as follows:—

"MR. SPEAKER, This honorable House have adjudged my reasons insufficient to support my conduct; and I feel the weight of their indignation. I have, Sir, more than once trembled under a sense of my own insufficiency to support the dignity of the high trust, with which my country unasked has honoured me; and to answer their just expectations in the discharge of them. Their candour has heretofore estimated my services rather by the integrity of my heart than the clearness of my head; this uprightness they have not only been pleased to accept, but bountifully to reward. When this house honoured me with this appointment, in undertaking it I promised myself the same indulgence. I have exercised the same freedom of judgment, I have attended the duty with the same diligence, I have been actuated with the same love to my country and its liberties, I have acted with the same singleness and uprightness of intention, and with the same ardent desire to serve the publick weal, which I have ever made the rule of my conduct: But alas! I meet with a very different reward."

G. PAGE 28.

The following is a list of individuals belonging to Hardwick, who served in the French war, commencing in 1756. The list is imperfect, as the muster-rolls, from which it is compiled, are not complete. I have thought it proper, however, to pre-

serve the names of so many as I can, and therefore publish an incomplete list, rather than none. Those who are known to have served more than one campaign, are distinguished by a star. [*]

*Ruggles, Timothy, Esq.	Gen'l.	Ayres, Eliphalet
*Cox, Ebenezer	Capt.	Bacon, James
Mandell, Paul	"	Barr, David
Paige, William	"	Benjamin, Abel
*Robinson, Samuel	"	Billing, Daniel
Warner, Joseph	"	*Billing, Samuel
*Robinson, Samuel, jr.	Ad'jt.	Blair, Edward
Carpenter, Joel, Doct.	Surg.	Bridge, Samuel
*Safford, Challis, Doct.	"	Bruce, Jotham
Ruggles, Joseph	Lieut.	Butterfield, Jonas
*Safford, Philip	"	Carpenter, Isaiah
Stone, Nathan	"	*Chamberlain, Joseph
*Fay, Jonas	Ens.	Church, Elisha
Leonard, Ezra	"	*Church, Richard
Mandell, Noah	"	Church, Samuel
Pratt, Ezekiel	"	Church, Timothy
Aiken, John	Serg.	Cobb, John
*Aiken, Solomon	"	Cobb, John, jr.
Billing, Elisha	"	*Cobb, Lemuel
Bowker, Silas	"	Cummins, Ebenezer
Farr, Jonathan	"	Cummins, Elijah
*Fay, Stephen	"	Curtis, Ebenezer
Hastings, Daniel	"	Dean, James
Newton, Silas	"	Dean, Silas
Newton, Timothy	"	Dexter, Samuel
*Safford, Ebenezer	"	Doty, Zurishaddai
Winslow, Samuel	"	Elwell, Joshua
*Chase, Henry	Corp.	Elwell, Thomas
*Clarke, Isaac	"	Farr, Joshua
Cobb, Elisha	"	*Fay, John
Gitchel, David	"	Forbush, Aaron
*Higgins, Joseph	"	Foster, Edward
Knowlton, Jacob	"	*Freeman, Thomas
Lyscomb, Ebenezer	"	*Freeman, Watson
Mirick, Nathan	"	Gilbert, Solomon
Steele, Samuel	"	Goddard, Benjamin
Whipple, Benjamin	"	*Gorham, Stephen
Winslow, Seth, jr.	"	Green, Larkin
Abbott, Timothy		Harrington, Samuel
Aiken, David		Haseltine, Simeon
Atwood, Samuel		Haskell, John
		*Haskell, Zechariah

Hastings, Jacob	Raymond, John
Hedge, Elisha, jr.	Rice, Ephraim
Hinds, Joseph	Rice, Oliver
Hinkley, Seth	Rice, Solomon
Howe, Sylvanus	Robinson, Leonard
Johnson, Thomas	Ruggles, Whiting
Jordan, Dudley	*Sauge, Timothy
Jordan, Edmond	Simonds, Joel
Mann, Benjamin	*Sprout, Nathaniel
Marble, David	Stuart, Samuel
Marble, Nathan	Stuart, Seth
*Marsh, Amos	Warner, Daniel
McSwain, John	Warner, Elijah
Negus, John	Warner, Silas
Nichols, Joseph	Weeks, David
*Nye, Caleb	Weeks, Holland
Ott, Peter	Weeks, Thomas
*Paige, John	Whipple, James
Paige, John, jr.	Whipple, Paul
*Paige, Jonas	*Whitcomb, Asa
Parkus, Daniel	Whitcomb, Nathaniel
Patrel, Joseph	Whitcomb, Nathaniel, jr.
Pike, Timothy	White, Thomas
Powers, Abraham	*Winslow, James
Powers, William	Winslow, Nathaniel
Raymond, Benjamin	*Winslow, Shubael

H. PAGE 29.

“An Act for setting up a Fair in the Town of Hardwicke, in the County of Worcester.

“Be it enacted by the Governour, Council, and House of Representatives, that henceforth, there may be kept a Fair in said Hardwicke on the third Wednesday and Thursday of May, and on the third Wednesday and Thursday of October annually.

“And be it further enacted, that the said Town of Hardwicke be and hereby are enabled, at a meeting called for that purpose, to choose proper officers to regulate said Fair, until the annual meeting in March next, and to be chosen thereafter annually, in the month of March, during the continuance of this act.

“And be it further enacted, that no bargain and sale, made at any of the said Fairs, shall be deemed valid and effectual in the law, unless the same be made between sun-rising and sun-setting.

“This act to continue and be in force for the space of seven years from the first day of July next, and no longer.”

This act was passed June 12, 1762. It seems afterwards to have been renewed, as the Fairs continued until 1775, when they were discontinued by vote of the Town. In 1785, the Town petitioned to have the Fair re-established; but the petition was not granted.

For several years, there has been a "Cattle Show" in Hardwick, in the month of October annually, which though different, in very many respects, perhaps answers all the valuable purposes of a Fair.

I. PAGE 37.

The "Association" drawn up, and sent to Hardwick, by General Ruggles, was published by himself in the "Boston Evening Post," December 26, 1774; from which paper, now in the Boston Athenæum, I have copied it. He published also a letter, in which both his loyalty and his wit are conspicuous. My limits forbid me to insert it.

"THE ASSOCIATION.

" We the subscribers being fully sensible of the blessings of good Government on the one hand, and convinced on the other hand of the evils and calamities attending on Tyranny in all shapes, whether exercised by one or many, and having of late seen with great grief and concern the distressing efforts of a dissolution of all Government, whereby our Lives, Liberties, and Properties are rendered precarious, and no longer under the Protection of the Law; and apprehending it to be our indispensable duty, to use all Lawful means in our power, for the defence of our Persons and Property, against all riotous, and lawless violence, and to recover, and secure the advantages which we are intituled to, from the good and wholsome Laws of the Government; Do hereby associate and mutually covenant, and engage to and with each other as follows. Namely

" 1st. That we will upon all occasions, with our Lives, and Fortunes, stand by and assist each other, in the defence of his Life, Liberty, and Property, whenever the same shall be attacked, or endangered by any Bodies of Men, riotously assembled, upon any pretence, or under any authority, not warranted by the Laws of the Land.

" 2ndly. That we will upon all occasions, mutually support each other in the free exercise, and enjoyment of our undoubted right to Liberty, in eating, drinking, buying, selling, communing, and acting, what, and with whom, and as we please, consistent with the Laws of God, and the King.

" 3dly. That we will not acknowledge, or submit to the pretended authority of any Congresses, Committees of Correspond-

dence, or other unconstitutional Assemblies of Men ; but will at the risque of our Lives, if need be, oppose the forceable exercise of all such authority.

" 4thly. That we will to the utmost of our Power, promote, encourage, and when called to it, enforce obedience to the rightfull Authority of our most Gracious Sovereign King George the third, and of his Laws.

" 5thly. That when the Person or Property of any one of us shall be invaded or threatened by any Committees, mobs, or unlawful Assemblies, the others of us will upon notice received forthwith repair, properly armed, to the Person on whom, or place where such invasion or threatening shall be, and will to the utmost of our Power, defend such Person and his Property, and if need be, will oppose and repel force with force.

" 6thly. That if any one of us shall unjustly and unlawfully be injured in his Person or Property, by any such Assemblies as before-mentioned, the others of us will unitedly demand, and if in our Power compel the Offenders, if known, to make full reparation and satisfaction for such injury ; and if all other Means of Security fail, we will have recourse to the natural Law of Retaliation.

" In witness of all which we hereto subscribe our Names this day of " "

Soon after this " Association " was sent to Hardwick, and before it was published, a copy of it came into the possession of the Committee of Correspondence; who immediately transmitted it to the Provincial Congress, then in session at Concord. A resolve was thereupon passed, which I copy from their Journal, recently published under the supervision of William Lincoln, Esq.

" Whereas, it appears to this Congress, that one or more members of the lately appointed unconstitutional council in this province, now residing in Boston, has sent to the town of Hardwick, a paper purporting to be an association to be entered into by those persons who falsely assume the name of friends to government; calculated to counteract the salutary designs of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, to deceive the people into agreements contrary to the welfare of this country, and tending in its consequences to hinder an amicable accommodation with our mother country, the sole end of those Congresses, and the ardent wish of every friend to America : it is therefore recommended by this Congress to the several committees of correspondence in this colony, that they give notice to the Provincial Congress, that shall meet in this province on the first day of February next, and the earliest notice to the public, of all such

combinations, and of the persons signing the same, if any should be enticed thereto, that their names may be published to the world, their persons treated with that neglect, and their memories transmitted to posterity with that ignominy, which such unnatural conduct must deserve."

K. PAGE 41.

The following list of soldiers, furnished by Hardwick, in the War of the Revolution, is exceedingly imperfect,—especially in regard to those who served for short periods. The names of those who engaged for three years or during the War, and who are termed "Continental Soldiers," are gathered partly from a certificate in the office of the Secretary of State, signed by "Jonathan Warner, Timothy Paige, John Hastings, Selectmen" of Hardwick; and partly from the accounts of the several Regiments, lodged in the same office. The names of those who served for short periods are gathered, partly from the Town Records, and partly from the testimony of aged inhabitants. I regret that it is not more complete. As I have not the means to know the precise rank of each, I insert no titles;—but merely remark that Jonathan Warner was General of militia, whose aids were Moses Mandell and James Paige 2d, and that Barnabas Sears was Major of militia.

Continental Soldiers.

Bernard, Joseph	Nye, Isaac
Blancford, David	Packard, Abisha
Chesemine, Benjamin	Perkins, Josiah
Cobb, John	Pike, Elisha
Doty, Moses	Pike, Joseph
Edson, Cushman	Plant, John
Elwell, Jabez	Ranger, Samuel
Evan, Daniel	Rixford, Henry
Fay, Aaron	Roberts, Josiah
Fuller, John	Robinson, John Walker
Gault, Thomas	Rockwood, Ebenezer
Glazier, Benjamin	Ryan, Dennis
Glazier, William	Ryan, John
Gorham, John	Stanwood, Jonathan
Gorham, Josiah	Stetson, Robert
Hedge, Elisha	Stewart, Jonathan
Hunt, Joseph	Terry, Jacob
June, Thomas	Wheeler, John
Lemoine, Benjamin	Wilder, Shubael
Mandell, Amos	Winslow, William
McMullen, Edward	Wright, Silas
Mirick, William	

Soldiers who served for shorter periods.

Aiken, John	Paige, James 2d
Brimhall, Sylvanus	Paige, Timothy jr.
Campbell, Jeremiah	Parker, Luther
Conant, Luther	Phinney, Zenas
Dennis, Adonijah	Ruggles, Daniel
Gorham, Stephen	Sears, Barnabas
Harrington, Lemuel	Spooner, Samuel
Haseltine, Simeon	Spooner, Zephaniah
Haskins, Samuel jr.	Sprout, Nathan
Hastings, Theophilus	Sprout, Samuel
Hathaway, Timothy	Warner, Daniel
Hedge, Asa	Warner, Jonathan
Hedge, John	Warner, Jonathan 2d
Higgins, Henry	Wellman, Levi
Hinkley, Samuel	Whipple, David
Hunt, John	White, Thomas Wells
Lock, Josiah	Willis, Joseph
Mandell, Moses	Willis, Silas jr.

APPENDIX No. II.**LIST OF PUBLIC OFFICERS, &c. IN HARDWICK.***Senators.*

Jonathan Warner, from 1781 to 1785, and from 1791 to 1797.
Samuel Eastman, from 1819 to 1821.

General Warner was transferred to the Executive Council from 1795 to 1797. General Ruggles was elected a Counsellor in 1764, but declined accepting the appointment. He probably supposed he could more effectually advance the King's interest in the House, than in the Council.

*Representatives to the General Court.**

1754 Timothy Ruggles	1757 Timothy Ruggles
1755 Timothy Ruggles	1758 Timothy Ruggles

* The town was not represented until 1754; nor in those years, since that period, which are omitted in the list.

1759 Timothy Ruggles
 1761 Timothy Ruggles
 1762 Timothy Ruggles
 1763 Timothy Ruggles
 1764 Timothy Ruggles
 1765 Timothy Ruggles
 1766 Timothy Ruggles
 1767 Timothy Ruggles
 1768 Timothy Ruggles
 1769 Timothy Ruggles

1770 { Timothy Ruggles
 Daniel Oliver
 1773 Paul Mandell
 1774 Paul Mandell
 1775 Stephen Rice
 1776 William Paige
 1777 { Stephen Rice
 Jonathan Warner
 1778 William Paige
 1779 William Paige
 1780 William Paige.

Under the New Constitution.

1780 Jonathan Warner
 1781 Timothy Paige
 1782 Ichabod Dexter
 1783 Ichabod Dexter
 1784 Stephen Rice
 1785 Jonathan Warner
 1786 John Hastings
 1787 Martin Kinsley
 1788 Martin Kinsley
 1789 Martin Kinsley
 1790 Martin Kinsley
 1791 Martin Kinsley
 1792 Martin Kinsley
 1794 Martin Kinsley
 1795 Martin Kinsley
 1796 Martin Kinsley
 1798 Jonathan Warner
 1799 Jonathan Warner
 1800 John Hastings
 1801 John Hastings
 1802 John Hastings
 1803 John Hastings
 1804 John Hastings
 1805 Timothy Paige
 1806 { Timothy Paige
 Seth Pierce
 1807 Timothy Paige
 1808 Timothy Paige
 1809 { Timothy Paige
 John Hastings

1810 { Timothy Paige
 Jason Mixter
 1811 { Timothy Paige
 Jeduthun Spooner
 1812 { Timothy Paige
 Jeduthun Spooner
 1813 { Timothy Paige
 Jeduthun Spooner
 1814 { Timothy Paige
 Jeduthun Spooner
 1815 { Timothy Paige
 Jason Mixter
 1816 { Timothy Paige
 Jason Mixter
 1817 Timothy Paige
 1818 Timothy Paige
 1819 Timothy Paige
 1820 Timothy Paige
 1821 Timothy Paige
 1823 Joseph Stone
 1826 Samuel Billing
 1827 Samuel Billing
 1829 Samuel Billing
 1830 Moses Allen
 1832 Moses Allen
 1833 Scotto Berry
 1835 Samuel F. Cutler
 1837 Jason Mixter
 1838 { Moses Allen
 Gardner Ruggles

Delegates to the Provincial Congresses.

Oct. 1774, 1st, at Concord, Paul Mandell, Stephen Rice.

Feb. 1775, 2d, at Cambridge, Paul Mandell.
 May 1775, 3d, at Watertown, William Paige, Stephen Rice,
 Jonathan Warner.

Delegates to Conventions.

Aug. 1774, at Worcester, Paul Mandell, Stephen Rice, Jonathan Warner, John Bradish.
 Sep. 1779, at Cambridge,* William Paige, Jonathan Warner, John Hastings.
 Oct. 1779, at Concord, Timothy Paige.
 Feb. 1788, at Boston,† Martin Kinsley.
 Nov. 1820, at Boston,‡ Timothy Paige, Joseph Stone.

Committees of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety.

1774. Benjamin Ruggles, Constant Mirick, Paul Mandell, Joseph Allen, William Paige, John Bradish, Jonathan Warner, Daniel Warner, Stephen Rice, Ezra Leonard, Timothy Newton, Thomas Robinson, Seth Paddleford, Josiah Lock, Joseph Safford.

1775. The same individuals re-elected.

1776. William Paige, Thomas Robinson, Samuel Dexter, Samuel Billings, John Bradish, Daniel Warner, David Allen, Abraham Knowlton, Gamaliel Collins.

1777. William Paige, John Bradish, Thomas Robinson, Stephen Rice, Timothy Paige, Barnabas Sears, Samuel Dexter, David Allen, Timothy Newton.

1778. Daniel Warner, Elisha Billing, Thomas Wheeler, Isaac Fay, Denison Robinson, Timothy Newton, Zebediah Johnson.

1779. David Allen, Samuel Dexter, Aaron Barlow, Ephraim Cleaveland jr., James Paige jr. At a subsequent meeting, the following gentlemen were added to the committee:—Daniel Warner, Ezra Leonard, Elisha Billing, John Hastings, Timothy Paige, John Haskell, Thomas Robinson, Timothy Newton, Jonathan Warner, Ephraim Pratt.

1780. Daniel Egery, Oliver Allen, Isaac Fay, John Haskell, James Wing.

Judges of the Court of Common Pleas.

[The persons, whose names are starred, are dead.]

Apl. 19, 1757, *Timothy Ruggles; Ch. Just. from 1762 to 1775.
 May 27, 1799, *Jonathan Warner; died, 1803.

* For framing the Constitution of Massachusetts.

† To act on the Federal Constitution.

‡ For revising the Constitution of Massachusetts.

Justices of the Peace.

Apl. 19, 1754, *Timothy Ruggles, and quorum.
 Jan. 13, 1768, *Daniel Oliver
 Sep. 25, 1775, *Paul Mandell
 Apl. 7, 1787, *Jonathan Warner; through the Com. Feb. 13,
 1797.
 June 25, 1789, *Martin Kinsley; removed to Hartford Con.
 Feb. 4, 1802, *John Hastings
 May 9, 1803, *Timothy Paige; quorum, Aug. 29, 1816.
 Feb. 3, 1808, *William Cutler
 Mar. 9, 1811, *Daniel Ruggles
 Nov. 18, 1812, Samuel Eastman; removed from the County.
 Feb. 21, 1814, Thomas Wheeler; removed to Greenwich.
 Jan. 22, 1819, Samuel Hinkley
 June 16, 1821, Jason Mixter
 Feb. 17, 1824, Samuel F. Cutler; removed to Amherst.
 Feb. 25, 1826, Gardner Ruggles
 Jan. 22, 1828, Samuel Billing; removed to Bangor, Me.
 Jan. 29, 1829, Joseph Stone
 Jan. 26, 1830, Ebenezer Perry
 May 14, 1831, Joseph Knox; removed to Wisconsin.

*Lawyers.**

*Timothy Ruggles,	grad. H. U. 1732, rem. from the town.
*Daniel Oliver,	" H. U. 1762, "
*Seth Paddleford,	" Y. C. 1770, " afterw's LL. D.
Pelatiah Hitchcock,	" H. U. 1785, "
*Luke Brown,	" H. U. 1794,
*Elisha P. Cutler,	" W. C. 1798,
Samuel Eastman,	" D. C. 1802.
Joseph Knox.	

Physicians.

Jedediah Rice, d. Apl. 4, 1756.
 Joel Carpenter, d.
 Challis Safford, d. about 1775.
 Jonas Fay, rem. to Bennington Vt.
 Isaac Robinson, rem. to Chesterfield, 1773.
 John Paddleford, grad. Y. C. 1768; rem.
 Charles Doolittle, d. June 12, 1785, aged 36.
 Arthur Rawson, d. Dec. 22, 1796, aged 38.
 Lucius Doolittle, d. Dec. 1, 1831, aged 71.
 Cyrus Washburn, rem. to Vernon Vt.

* In this and the succeeding pages, some contractions are used; b. for born; d. for died; mar. for married; dau. for daughter; rem. for removed; grad. for graduated.

William Cutler, d. Feb. 9, 1832, aged 78.
 Convers Cutler, d. Nov. 1, 1831, aged 76.
 Joseph White, rem. to New Bedford.
 Elliot Beckwith, d. Mar. 6, 1814, aged 53.
 Elias Penniman, d. Feb. 9, 1830, aged 81.
 David Billing, d. 1833, aged 62.
 Joseph Stone,
 Stephen K. Wardwell, } living; commenced practice here 1814.

Deacons in the first Church.

Dec. 3, 1736, Christopher Paige, resigned Apl. 13, 1749; d.
 Mar. 10, 1774.
 Dec. 3, 1736, Capt. Joseph Allen, d. Aug. 18, 1793.
 Apl. 30, 1746, Capt. Samuel Robinson, resigned Mar. 2, 1749;
 rem. to Bennington.
 John Cooper, (Probably from 1749 to 1769.)
 Nov. 9, 1769, Capt. William Paige, d. Feb. 14, 1790.
 Apl. 28, 1774, John Bradish, rem. to Cummington.
 May 12, 1785, Ebenezer Willis, d. Feb. 5, 1813.
 " " " Nathaniel Paige, rem. to Athol; d. Feb. 1817.
 Aug. 16, 1810, Joseph Allen, d. Nov. 11, 1822.
 Aug. 10, 1812, Maj. James Paige, d. Feb. 18, 1818.
 " " Benjamin W. Childs, rem. to Barre; d. 1838.
 Apl. 18, 1819, Henry Fish, resigned May 20, 1830.
 " " Josiah C. Chandler, rem. to Prescott.
 Mar. 10, 1824, Elijah Amidon, rem. to Belchertown.
 " " Anson Winchester, rem. to Mendon, N. Y.

Deacons in the Baptist Church.

1801, Daniel Lamson,	dismissed,	1806.
" Seth Willis,	"	1811.
1806, Benjamin Rider,	"	1814.
1811, Eseck Brown,	"	1812.
1812, Enos Newland,	"	1814.
1817, Henry Higgins,	"	1833.
" Joseph Metcalf,	"	1829.
1829, John Pepper		
1833, John Chamberlain		

APPENDIX No. III.

GRADUATES AND OTHERS.

Solomon Aiken, son of John Aiken; b. July 15, 1758; grad. D. C. 1784; ordained in Dracut, June 4, 1788; minister there about twenty years. Dead.

David Billing, son of Asahel Billing; b. 1771; physician in Hardwick; d. 1833.

Eli Carpenter, son of Doct. Joel Carpenter; b. Dec. 12, 1756; physician in Goshen, Con. His mother was Mary, dau. of Rev. Benjamin Ruggles, of New Braintree.

Edward Dean, son of Paul Dean; b. Nov. 1, 1778; physician in Vermont. Dead.

Joseph Dean, son of Paul Dean; b. Jan. 25, 1790; physician in Vermont. Dead.

Jonas Fay, son of Stephen Fay; b. 1736; physician in Hardwick, and in Bennington, Vt. Dead.

John Field, son of George Field; b. Jan. 5, 1780; grad. W. C. 1807; minister, a few years, in N. Wrentham; afterwards a missionary. Dead.

Horace Gleason, son of Nathaniel Gleason; b. Aug. 30, 1801; grad. W. C. 1828; lawyer in Boston.

Thomas Russell Holt, son of Rev. Thomas Holt; b. June 30, 1799; commenced practice as a lawyer, in Wintonbury, Con.

Zephaniah Jenney, son of John Jenney; b. about 1755; physician in Maine.

Christopher Jacob Lawton, son of Jacob Lawton; b. Oct. 2, 1778; minister in Vermont.

John Lawton, son of Jacob Lawton; b. Aug. 14, 1780; minister in Vermont.

Sanford Lawton,* son of John Lawton; b. about 1798; grad. Y. C. 1825; ordained minister; but has devoted his attention chiefly to teaching; has been Preceptor of the Academies in Dudley, Monson, and Westfield.

William Andrew Mandell, son of the late Daniel Mandell; grad. A. C. 1838.

George Mixter, son of Jason Mixter, Esq.; b. 1815; grad. Y. C. 1836; removed to Wisconsin.

* Not born in Hardwick; but of an ancient Hardwick family. The father returned there, when this son was very young, after a temporary absence.

Christopher Paige, son of Dea. William Paige ; b. June 12, 1762 ; grad. D. C. 1784 ; minister in Pittsfield, N. H. 1789 ; in Roxbury, N. H. 1816 ; d. Oct. 12, 1822. His wife was the widow of Rev. Elijah Fletcher. His son, Elijah Fletcher Paige, grad. H. U. 1810, and d. in Virginia, 1817.

Reed Paige, son of Col. Timothy Paige ; b. Aug. 30, 1764 ; grad. D. C. 1786 ; minister in Hancock, N. H. from Sept. 21, 1791 until his death, July 22, 1816. "He was justly esteemed a learned, pious, able, and faithful minister, a good citizen, an honest and upright man."—*Farmer's Gaz. N. H. Art. Hancock.*

Winslow Paige, son of John Paige ; b. 1765 ; A. M. at B. U. 1828 ; minister in Schaghticoke, Florida, and Gilboa, N. Y. ; d. 1838, leaving two sons,—John Keyes Paige, grad. W. C. 1807 ; Clerk of the Sup. Court in New York ;—Christopher Alonzo Paige, grad. W. C. 1812 ; Reporter of the Court of Chancery in New York. Joseph C. Y. Paige, son of John K. Paige, grad. W. C. 1838.

George Washington Paige, son of Col. Timothy Paige ; b. Aug. 24, 1775 ; physician in Colchester, N. Y., where he d. Sep. 10, 1834.

Timothy Paige, son of Timothy Paige, Esq. ; b. Mar. 6, 1788 ; lawyer in Southbridge, where he d. Nov. 16, 1822.

Joel Paige, son of Moses Paige ; b. Jan. 25, 1793 ; physician in Owego, N. Y.

Asa Paige, son of Moses Paige ; b. Dec. 9, 1801 ; physician and apothecary in Troy, N. Y. Dead.

Lucius Robinson Paige, son of Timothy Paige, Esq. ; b. Mar. 8, 1802 ; minister in Cambridge.

William Powers, son of Phineas Powers ; b. July 15, 1734 ; physician in Woodstock, Vt., where he d. at the age of about ninety years.

Thomas Rice, son of Col. Stephen Rice ; b. 1782 ; grad. Y. C. 1803 ; lawyer in Boston and Marlboro' ; rem. to Vermont.

Moses Robinson, son of Capt. Samuel Robinson ; b. Mar. 15, 1741 ; A. M. at Y. C. 1789 ; Governor of Vermont, 1789 ; afterwards Representative and Senator in Congress, from the same State ; d. at Bennington, May 26, 1813.

Jonathan Robinson, son of Capt Samuel Robinson ; b. Aug. 24, 1756 ; A. M. at D. C. 1790 ; Chief Justice of Vermont 1801 ; Senator in Congress from the same State 1806 ; d. at Bennington, Nov. 3, 1819.

Isaac Robinson, son of Samuel Robinson 2d ; b. Jan. 20, 1747 ; physician in Hardwick and Chesterfield ; rem. to Vermont.

Warner Robinson, son of Thomas Robinson jr. ; lawyer in Alexander, N. Y., where he d. Jan. 22, 1827, at the age of about thirty years.

Alfred Stearns, grad. W. C. 1812 ; lawyer ; dead.

William Thomas, son of Amos Thomas ; b. Sep. 18, 1739 ; physician in Brookfield, where he d. at an advanced age.

Wright Warner, son of Capt. Daniel Warner ; b. Sep. 11, 1773 ; lawyer in Vermont.

William Augustus Warner, son of Gen. Jonathan Warner ; b. 1797 ; grad. H. U. 1815 ; lawyer in Boston, where he d. Dec. 1831.

Ebenezer Washburn, son of Ebenezer Washburn , b. Oct. 25, 1772 ; minister in Connecticut.

Cyrus Washburn, son of Ebenezer Washburn ; b. Nov. 5, 1774 ; physician in Hardwick, and in Vernon, Vt.

Thomas Wells White, son of Rev. David White ; b. Aug. 12, 1739 ; grad. H. U. 1759 ; merchant ; rem. to Barnard, Vt. where he died.

John White, son of Rev. David White ; b. June 11, 1745 ; grad. H. U. 1765 ; clerk in a public office, Worcester, where he died.

Shubael Winslow, son of Thomas Winslow ; b. about 1738 ; physician in Brimfield, where he died.

John Goldsbury jr., son of Rev. John Goldsbury, b. in Rayn-hain, Oct. 5, 1822, and for several years resident in Hardwick, is a member of the Freshman Class, Harvard University.

Brief personal notices.

James Aiken, a native of Scotland, here in 1736, d. Aug. 10, 1775, aged 82 ; had sons, Solomon and John ; and dau. Mercy, who mar. Dea. William Paige, and d. Feb. 19, 1823, aged 102 years, 1 month, and 4 days.

David Aiken, nephew of James, mar. Hannah Simonds, July 18, 1765, who d. 1837, aged 96.

Dea. Joseph Allen, b. in Weston, 1709, rem. here in 1736, and d. Aug. 18, 1793; mar. Mercy Livermore, and had sons, David, b. Aug. 18, 1738, and Joseph, b. Dec. 21, 1748. He was much employed in the public business of the town, and Deacon in the Church from its organization in 1736, until his death.

John Amidon, here in 1738 ; his son John b. 1744, d. 1825, aged 81.

Samuel Billing rem. here from Sunderland, 1740 ; mar. dau. of Daniel Warner, and had sons, Elisha d. 1803, aged 76 ; Daniel, mar. Mary, dau. of Capt. Benjamin Ruggles ; Nathan ; Samuel, rem. to Bennington, Vt. ; and Asahel mar. Elizabeth, dau. of James Robinson, d. 1838, aged 100.

Nathan Carpenter, here in 1737, and d. Aug. 12, 1770, aged 69. His son Gideon was father of the late Elijah Carpenter.

Samuel Dexter rem. here from Rochester about 1737; had sons, Joseph; Samuel d. 1824, aged 89; Ichabod d. 1797, aged 59; Job, b. March 8, 1741, and d. 1827; Benjamin, b. Nov. 17, 1747.

Paul Dean rem. here from Taunton, and mar. Mary Whitcomb, Dec. 4, 1745; d. 1767; his son Paul, b. Oct. 20, 1746, mar. Elizabeth Ruggles, and d. 1828. Another son, Seth, was father of Rev. Paul Dean of Boston. Mr. Dean's widow mar. Dea. Daniel Spooner, 1780, and d. 1822, aged 94.

James Fay, formerly of Westboro', was here early, and d. of small pox, 1777. He was Deacon in the "Separate Church." His son Daniel d. 1815, aged 86, and was father of Timothy, who mar. Olive, dau. of Ezra Leonard, 1775, and Hannah Bassett, 1780, and d. 1831, aged 81.

Stephen Fay, formerly of Westboro' and probably brother of James, was here early, and about 1765 rem. to Bennington, Vt. He was father of Dr. Jonas, and of Mary, who mar. Moses Robinson, (afterwards Governor of Vermont,) in 1762.

Stephen Gorham rem. here from Yarmouth about 1750; was in the French war three years, and a short time in the war of the Revolution. He mar. Sarah Freeman, 1758, and had eleven sons; one of whom, John, still lives in Hardwick.

Roger Haskell, perhaps son of Joseph Haskell, d. Dec. 21, 1750. His dau. Rebecca, b. Mar. 29, 1743, mar. — Granger, and still living, is the mother of Daniel Granger.

Walter Hastings d. 1792, aged 88. His son, the late John Hastings, Esq., was b. Sep. 1743, and d. May 29, 1829.

Elisha Hedge was father of Elisha, and of Rev. Lemuel Hedge, who grad. H. U. 1759, mar. Sarah, dau. of Rev. David White, 1761, and d. at Warwick, Oct. 1777, leaving sons, Lemuel, grad. H. U. 1784; Abraham, a physician in Windsor, Vt.; Levi, grad. H. U. 1792, and connected with the University, as tutor and professor, 37 years; Samuel rem. to Windsor, Vt.

John Hunt, here in 1737, kept a tavern where Dr. Wardwell now lives, and d. of small-pox, Feb. 14, 1778. His son Moses was b. Oct. 28, 1756.

Experience Johnson might have been father of Zebediah, but of this I am not certain. He was here in 1736, and several years afterwards.

Dudley Jordan, here in 1737, and d. Apl. 26, 1750. He was celebrated as an expert gunner, and once alarmed the town by discharging his gun at a catamount three times in very rapid succession. He mar. Mary Haskell, 1739, and had children, Susanna b. 1741, mar. Abraham Knowlton, and d. 1816; Philip,

b. 1743; Mercy, b. 1745, mar. Capt. John Raymond, and d. 1833; Sarah, b. 1747; Dudley, b. 1750, and died 1820.

James Lawton, here about 1750, d. Sept. 24, 1787, aged 73. He had sons, James d. 1806; Jacob; John b. 1754, recently rem. to Monson; Israel, b. 1758, removed to Vermont.

Ezra Leonard mar. Olive, dau. of Benjamin Smith, June 1, 1737. This was the first marriage ever celebrated in town. They had sons, Benjamin, b. 1741; Nathan, b. 1744; David b. 1747; Levi, b. 1749; Ezra, b. 1757; and dau. Sarah and Mercy, twins, b. 1751, mar. Samuel Whipple and Jonathan Flint; Olive, b. 1753, mar. Timothy Fay.

Paul Mandell, Esq. rem. here from Dartmouth, in 1749, and d. Sep. 16, 1809, aged 86. He mar. Susanna, dau. of Rev. Timothy Ruggles of Rochester, 1746, who survived until Dec. 16, 1813, when she d. aged 92. They had six children; Hannah, b. Jan. 10, 1747, mar. Gen. Jonathan Warner, and still living; Susanna, b. Nov. 16, 1749, mar. John Stone; Maj. Moses, b. Dec. 16, 1751, d. 1826; Paul, b. Oct. 31, 1753; Barnabas, b. 1755; d. 1758; Mary, b. Oct. 3, 1759, mar. John Doty. He was a distinguished citizen, and much employed in public affairs.—Rev. David J. Mandell of Gardiner, Me. is grandson of Maj. Moses Mandell.

Constant Mirick, one of the earliest inhabitants, d. Mar. 17, 1792, aged 91. He had sons, William, b. Apl. 22, 1728; Nathaniel, b. May 22, 1730, d. Feb. 9, 1799; Constant, b. Sep. 13, 1740; dau. Sarah, b. Sep. 30, 1732, mar. Ens. Timothy Newton, and d. Oct. 16, 1803; Alice, b. Aug. 29, 1737, mar. Zebediah Johnson.

Dea. Christopher Paige, son of Nathaniel Paige, one of the purchasers of the township, b. in Bedford, 1691, rem. here in 1733, and d. Mar. 10, 1774, leaving sons, Christopher, b. 1721, d. Dec. 3, 1772; (Rev. Abraham Paige is a descendant through this branch;) Dea. William, b. 1723, a captain in the French War, and much engaged in public business, d. Feb. 14, 1790;* George, b. 1725, d. May 8, 1781; Col. Timothy, b. 1727, an active and useful citizen, d. Aug. 22, (26 on the grave stone,) 1791; Jonas; Dea. Nathaniel, b. 1736, d. Feb. 1817; John, b. 1738, rem. with his son, Rev. Winslow, to New York, where he d. about 1809. Dea. Paige left dau., Joanna, mar. Benjamin Farley of Bedford; Lucy, mar. Seth Lincoln of Western, (now Warren,) and was grandmother of Rev. Sumner Lincoln of Gardner; Elisabeth, b. 1743, mar. Solomon Green, son of

* Rev. James Foster of Cicero, N. Y., is a son of Dea. William Paige's dau. Rebecca, who was b. Oct. 8, 1749, and mar. John Foster of Rochester, Oct. 6, 1768. On that day, three of Dea. Paige's children were married; Dea. William, to Mercy Raymond; Dea. James, to Thankful Raymond; and Rebecca, as above stated.

Doct. Thomas Green of Leicester, d. Apl. 1, 1802; she was mother of Rev. Archelaus Green of Virgil, N. Y., whose son Hiram is also a minister.

Dea. Paige had an elder brother, Nathaniel, b. 1680, lived in Bedford, d. Mar. 2, 1755. Two of his grandsons, John and James, rem. here about 1755; John mar. Mary Cutler of Lexington, and d. Oct. 31, 1789, aged 56; James mar. Anna, dau. of Capt. Joseph Warner, and d. Jan. 18, 1817, aged 82.

Timothy Paige, Esq., son of Col. Timothy Paige, b. Feb. 16, 1757, mar. Mary, dau. of Thomas Robinson, and d. Oct. 29, 1821. A large portion of his time, for the last twenty-five years of his life, was devoted to the transaction of public business.

Thomas Perry was here in 1736, and lived in the southeasterly part of the town; but I have not succeeded in obtaining any particulars concerning him, or his family.

Phineas Powers was here in 1737. His children were, William, b. 1734; Stephen, b. 1736; Abraham, b. 1738; Mary, b. 1740; Sarah, b. 1744, mar. Moses Whitcomb; Thomas, b. 1747; Mercy, b. 1749, mar. William Fuller.

Benjamin Raymond rem. here from Rochester in 1760, and d. Oct. 2, 1779. His widow, Mary, d. May 26, 1806, aged 86. He was engaged in the French War. He had sons, Benjamin, who died in early life, and Capt. John, who d. Oct. 4, 1816, aged 72. His dau. Joanna mar. Asa Whitcomb; Mercy mar. Dea. William Paige jr.; Thankful mar. Dea. James Paige; Mary mar. James Lawton; Deborah mar. Stewart Southgate.

Col. Stephen Rice rem. here from Brookfield before 1773; was an active citizen, and d. 1831, aged 95.

Thomas Robinson rem. here from Rochester about 1740; mar. Mary, dau. of Eleazer Warner, 1744, and d. Jan. 4, 1802, aged 84. His widow d. Aug. 7, 1812, aged 88. Their children were, Denison, b. Sep. 18, 1746, mar. Mellicent, dau. of Rev. Robert Cutler of Greenwich, and had sons, Josiah Quincy, a merchant, Thomas, a lawyer, and Robert Cutler, a physician, all in Adams, Ms.; — Thomas, b. Feb. 10, 1753, mar. Rebecca, dau. of John Paige, rem. to Onondaga, N. Y., and had many children, among whom were Warner and Denison, lawyers; — Mary, b. Dec. 3, 1758, mar. Timothy Paige, Esq., and d. Mar. 29, 1836.

Mr. Robinson was an ardent patriot, and cheerfully devoted his property to his country,—sinking from riches to poverty, for the sake of liberty. He was one of the grand Jurors, who refused, Apl. 19, 1774, to be impanelled, if Peter Oliver, the King's Chief Justice, should be present. He had four brothers here; James, who mar. Elisabeth, dau. of Benjamin Smith; Joseph; Samuel; Denison.

This family descended from Dea. Thomas Robinson, who was of Scituate in 1643, and rem. to Boston in 1652, mar. widow Mary Woody, dau. of Mr. John Coggan,* and d. 1665, leaving sons, John; Thomas, b. 1652; James, b. 1654; Joseph, b. 1656. Thomas mar. Sarah, dau. of Edward Denison of Roxbury, and d. June 1700, leaving sons, Thomas, b. Nov. 5, 1677, d. Feb. 15, 1729; James, b. Mar. 15, 1690, mar. Patience, dau. of Samuel Ruggles of Roxbury, rem. from Boston to Rochester, and thence to Hardwick. He was father of Thomas Robinson, above named, and his brothers, and d. here, about 1770.

Capt. Samuel Robinson was here in 1736, mar. Mercy, sister of Ezra Leonard, and rem. to Bennington, Vt. about 1765. He was one of the most active inhabitants during that period; commanded a company, through the French War; was Deacon in the first Church, and afterwards in the "Separate Church." His son Leonard b. July 16, 1736, mar. widow Mercy Newton, and was father of Samuel Leonard Robinson. Capt. Robinson's sons, Moses and Jonathan, are named elsewhere.

Rev. Timothy Ruggles, though not a settler, was one of the most active individuals in advancing the settlement. He was son of Samuel Ruggles of Roxbury, an original proprietor, b. Nov. 3, 1685, grad. H. U. 1707, settled in Rochester, and d. 1769. He had an uncle Thomas Ruggles, grad. H. U. 1690, minister in Guilford, Con., and d. June 1, 1728. He had also two brothers, who were ministers; Samuel, b. Dec. 3, 1681, grad. H. U. 1702, settled in Billerica, and d. Mar. 1, 1749; Benjamin, b. July 4, 1700, grad. Y. C. 1721, settled in Middleboro', and afterwards in New Braintree, and d. May 12, 1782. His sister Patience, b. Nov. 9, 1689, mar. James Robinson. —

Rev. Mr. Ruggles had eight sons, six of whom rem. here; — Gen. Timothy, of whom I have spoken in the address, and who d. at Roseway, N. S. 1798, aged 87; his dau. Mary mar. Doct. John Green of Worcester, son of Doct. Thomas Green; — Capt. Benjamin, b. May 19, 1713, an active citizen, d. Oct. 11, 1790; his dau. Mary mar. Daniel Billing, and d. 1835, aged 97; Samuel, b. July 5, 1715; Joseph, b. June 23, 1718, d. Jan. 28, 1791; his dau. Anna, mar. Jonathan Danforth, and d. Mar. 4, 1824, aged 69; Edward, b. Aug. 30, 1723, mar. Lucy Spooner, had sons, Daniel, Edward, Constant, and Nathan, and d. May 21, 1778; John, b. Sep. 2, 1731. He had also two dau., one of whom, Susanna, b. Jan. 6, 1722, mar. Paul Mandell, Esq., and rem. here.

* This Mr. Coggan "set up the first shop" or store in Boston; he lived on what is now the corner of State and Washington Streets, north of the old State House. — See *Snow's Hist. Boston.*

Benjamin Ruggles 2d, b. 1726, d. Oct. 21, 1795, and Whiting Ruggles, b. 1733, d. Aug. 8, 1796, were sons of Rev. Benjamin Ruggles, of New Braintree.

Roland Sears was here early; his son Barnabas served in the Revolution. The family rem. to Greenwich.

Benjamin Smith mar. Experience, dau. of John Curtis, one of the purchasers, and thus became a proprietor in the township. His dau. Olive mar. Ezra Leonard, and Elisabeth mar. James Robinson. Mr. Smith is reputed to have been the first settler, and d. at the house of his son-in-law Leonard, aged about 100.

Ichabod Stratton, here in 1736, and d. Oct. 31, 1762. He had a son Ichabod, and a dau. mar. — Elwell, and was mother of David Elwell.

William Thomas, one of the earliest settlers, perhaps father of Amos, d. May 22, 1747. His wife, Patience, d. Oct. 27, 1746.

Amos Thomas, an early inhabitant, d. July 31, 1754. He had several children; Elisabeth, b. July 4, 1738; Abigail, b. Mar. 3, 1741, mar. Maj. Samuel Beals; Olive, b. Dec. 1, 1742; William, b. Aug. 6, 1744; Amos, b. Apl. 6, 1746; Joseph, b. May 24, 1748; Daniel, b. May 5, 1750; Mercy, b. Apl. 6, 1752; Isaac, b. July 13, 1754.

Daniel Warner rem. here from Hatfield with two sons, Joseph and Jonathan, and a dau., wife of Samuel Billing, and d. Mar. 12, 1754, aged 88. His son Joseph was a Captain, and rem. to Cummington, 1774, leaving two children here, the late Capt. Elijah Warner, and Anna, b. Nov. 1, 1747, mar. James Paige. Jonathan, son of Daniel Warner, d. May 28, 1763, aged 59, leaving a large family. Among them were Capt. Daniel, b. Dec. 22, 1734, and when advanced in years rem. to Ohio; Mary, b. Feb. 23, 1737, mar. Zurishaddai Doty; Lydia, b. Nov. 3, 1740, mar. Doct. Challis Safford, and Doct. Jonas Fay; Sarah, b. Nov. 1, 1742, mar. Thomas Wheeler, and Capt. Elijah Warner, and d. 1837; Gen. Jonathan, b. July 14, 1744, d. Jan. 7, 1803, a very active and useful citizen; Rhoda, b. Nov. 17, 1754, mar. Robert McIntyre, and Jonathan Lynds.

Eleazer Warner, (probably a grandson of John Warner, who was b. 1616, and rem. from Ipswich to Brookfield in 1660,) was a very early and active inhabitant. He was frequently engaged in the wars with the French and Indians. On one occasion, he was followed by an Indian from Canada to Hardwick; they met in the forest, and exchanged shots; Mr. Warner escaped unhurt, but the Indian was killed. Mr. Warner had a very large family, and d. 1770, aged 94. Of his children, Warham d. in New Braintree about 1815, and Mary mar. Thomas Robinson, d. Aug. 7, 1812, aged 88.

John Wells, here in 1736, an active citizen, d. 1746. His dau. Submit, b. May 3, 1742, mar. Capt. Elijah Warner.

Dea. Thomas Wheeler rem. here from Brookfield, and d. Jan. 1769, aged 74. He had two sons; Thomas mar. Anna Warner, d. July 10, 1804, aged 65, and was father of Cof. Thomas Wheeler; Daniel mar. Betty, dau. of Lieut. William Holloway of Marlboro', d. Jan. 10, 1813, aged 84, and was father of Capt. John Wheeler. There is reason to believe that this family descended from Capt. Thomas Wheeler of Concord. See page 51.

Dea. John White, probably father of Rev. David White, d. Nov. 13, 1750, aged 87.

Capt. Benjamin Willis, perhaps son of Samuel Willis, Esq., a proprietor, d. 1756, leaving a large family of dau. and one son, Leinuel, who d. Apl. 25, 1829, aged 82. The late Dea. Benjamin W. Childs was grandson of Capt. Willis.

Bill of Mortality.

According to the Records, 1122 persons died in Hardwick between Jan. 1, 1790, and Nov. 15, 1838. Of these, 202 attained the age of 70 years and upwards. Hence it appears that 1 in every $5\frac{1}{2}$ (very nearly) has lived threescore years and ten. And, as may be seen by the subjoined schedule, 1 in every 10 has lived fourscore years and upwards.

Under 70	920
Between 70 and 80	90
" 80 " 90	83
" 90 " 100	27
Over 100	2
	<hr/>
	1122

Of the two who completed a century, Mercy, widow of Dea. William Paige, d. in 1823, aged 102 years, 1 month, and 4 days; and Lieut. Asahel Billing d. 1838, whose age probably did not vary one week from 100 years. Mrs. Paige came here with her father before 1736; and Mr. Billing, with his father, in 1740.

ERRATA.—Page 22, line 4, for Jona Fay, read Jonas Fay. Page 66, after the name of each Lawyer, read "removed from town."





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